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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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IMPORTANCE OF RELIGIOUS ELEMENTS IN EPIC POEMS DENIED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 18 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Hulusi Hako, Doctor of Philosophic Sciences: "The Absurdities of the Religious Criterion"]

[Text] What lies behind the efforts of some foreign scholars to link the ethnic identity of the epic of the warriors with religion?

Some foreign scholars divide the Balkan epics into "Christian" and "Muslim," on the basis of the religious identities of the peoples who sang them, using the very subject of the epic as an expression of the struggle between Christianity and Islam. Highlighting the religious contrast as paramount in the subject of the epic poem, and even listing it along with other contracts, as some authors have done, is an expression of an idealistic concept of reactionary forces which treat religion as a basic ethnic and determining characteristic of nationality, while disregarding the entire history and life of the peoples.

However, the distortions resulting from the classification of epics as "Christian" and "Muslim" or "Serbo-Croatian," "Bosnian," "Turkish," in which "Albanian" is not mentioned or is mentioned very infrequently, have had as an aim the extinguishing of a history and the assimilation of a people, by means of silence or by giving them the wrong name.

The Albanian epic, created organically in a pagan mythological milieu, asserts its independent existence with definite characteristics and distinction. During its centuries-old journey, this epic has passed through the fogs of Christianity and Islam which left some traces, or rather, some spots which do not change its character and spirit. These monotheistic faiths were weak and shallow elements in the history and life of our people and this is the way they were presented in the rhapsodies of the epic. The mythology of the monotheistic religions which were imposed later, artificially, by hostile forces did not have deep roots in the life and consciousness of the people, and, therefore, they could not become and did not become a definite element of folk creativity in those centuries. The whole content of the epic shows that it does not stifle a sense of reality, a healthy judgment and a balance between the natural and the extraordinary or supernatural. A Kosovo variation of our legendary epic tells the story of a hero who is seriously wounded. God orders that he die but his spirit keeps him alive and he is restored back to health. This is the song of a people which has

not had much regard for miracles and supernatural forces and has been obliged to trust and rely on its own forces. Religious differences did not create hostilities among the Albanians themselves or among the Albanians and other peoples. They did not prevent them from uniting and working for noble goals. The lack of religious motifs in the subjects of the Albanian epic is another proof of its long existence.

It is true that we find rather strong Muslim coloring in the Kosovo variations of our epic, however this can be explained by the fact that at this time in history the new religion was used as a barrier and counterbalance against the Slavizing Orthodox church. The Albanian Catholics and Muslims carried on a joint struggle and border resistance effort in the north and these efforts had a deeply ethnic motif and nature. Both the Catholic and the Muslim mountaineers sang rhapsodies accompanied by the lute. Religion did not have any special influence on the subject matter of the Kosovo variations. Indeed, in some cases the rhapsodies used religion as a cover, to conceal and achieve other aims.

The sophistic distortions on the basis of religious criteria, have even gone so far as saying that, in light of the Arabic and Islamic content of the names of the epics, they might have been of Turkish origin. However, nationality cannot be identified with religion and names or titles cannot change the nationality of characters or heroes, just as a certain Vojslav Jachovski, who lives in Skopje and creates these distortions and absurdities based on religious criteria, cannot say that he is Polish or Czech merely because of the nature of his name. Anti-Albanians and the absolutism of the Islamic burden have blinded this author so much that he has even besmeared with religious criteria the fine virtue of the pledge of honor ["besa"], using very ordinary words, when he says: "In the Albanian language they call faith 'besa.'" It seems that faith and the giving of one's word are united in this word. In the tradition of giving one's word, the faith to which the person giving his word belongs is very important." All these assertions must be refuted in order to state the truth. The formula "bes' e fe" [the word of honor is faith] is a distortion by the clergy which the Vatican has used and uses widely in its propaganda campaign against Albania. Another idea of this author reverberates with slander, falsification and anti-scientific elements, namely, when he says: "Since Muslim ideology is predominant in this poetic art, it is evident that the establishment of an identity is dependent upon religious faith." But faith cannot be identified with the nationality of any people, especially the Albanian nationality, which has been raised and strengthened in the struggle among feuding religions.

CSO: 2100/1

NEW PROCEDURES IN NATIONAL COMMITTEES REFLECTED IN CONTROLS

Prague KONTROLA in Czech No 5, 1983 pp 1-2

[Article by Dr. Jaroslav Kubik, Vice-Chairman of the Board of Controls of the Czech Socialist Republic]

[Text] "At a time of the building of a developed socialist society, the national committees play a significant role in asserting the power of the people and the development of a socialist order. They are instrumental in enabling hundreds of thousands of citizens to participate in the local, county, and regional governments, in shaping the policy of our state, and in the realization and control of that policy. The entire work of the national committees relates closely to the life, the needs, and the interests of the broad masses of the working people." [From the decree of the sixth session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, 21 April 1982]

In the last few years, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia has been paying extraordinary attention to the work of national committees. This is logical, for every citizen of our republic is confronted with the work of national committees at every significant occasion as well as at times that call for problemsolving. After birth, his name is recorded in the birth and death register at the national committee, he is welcomed as a new citizen, he is exposed to the work of a national committee in a nursery, in kindergarden, and later when he starts school, when he enters into marriage, when he has to solve his housing problems, meet various health and social needs, deal with questions of provisions or other services--till the end of his life. As a result of this, he frequently judges the whole social order by his experiences in dealing with the national committee.

At its meeting on 27 April 1979, the executive committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia stated that during the building of socialism the national committees have become a very important political power, that the participation of people in the social system manifests itself in their participation in the management of large financial and material resources, and that the improvement of the national committees' activities is obviously one of the main roads to development of socialist

democracy. Therefore it [i.e. the Central Committee] is marking out the important tasks of the national committees and determining the ways in which these tasks are to be fulfilled.

The tasks include the strengthening of the role of the selected officials of the national committees who provide the basic contact of the national committee with the population. It is precisely through assemblies, councils, commissions, citizens' committees, and other gatherings that broad masses of population--besides the 200,000 representatives--are drawn into making decisions concerning the rights and responsibilities of citizens or concerning matters of economic, social, or cultural development of [various] territories.

The accepted document imposes an obligation to pay constant attention to the elected officials' jurisdiction, methods and styles of work of the elected officials, to deepen their responsibility toward the electorate, and to develop effective forms whereby they would guide and control executive agencies and the [government] apparatus.

How crucial a task this is was shown during some audits organized recently in this sector and carried out by the People's Control Commission of the Czech Socialist Republic. It had to do with inspection of administrative actions or implementation of decisions of the government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Czech Socialist Republic, of plenary sessions and commissions of national committees or the recent checks of the handling of citizens' affairs.

The above-mentioned document of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia emphasizes the necessity of further development of the role of plenary meetings, [of finding ways that would] insure their fundamental influence on the basic questions of the developing comprehensive management and [would] secure an effective coordination and control of activity of institutions and organizations which are functioning in their territories and are affecting the interests and needs of the territory's inhabitants. It calls for strengthening of the coordinating functions in regard to organizations which are subordinated to the national committees; this includes agricultural organizations as well.

The people's control committees on all levels can also do much for a successful realization of these tasks. They have often had valuable experiences which, presented to the plenary session, could contribute to more to-the-point and objective decisionmaking, and often also to greater activity of not only the deputies and activists but also of the citizens who take part in plenary sessions. The experiences are primarily those gained from controls of the quality of service to the population, such as housing and housing construction, maintenance of the housing development or of environment, but also from the realm of health, social services, culture, food distribution, and provisions for other daily needs of the population.

By their experiences and their insights, but also by their control, the people's control committees could help significantly a plenary session

fulfill another task, namely the task of publishing the generally binding regulations issued by national committees. By controlling the implementation of these accepted regulations, the board could be of special help in activating citizens by inviting their participation in such controls and by utilizing their intellectual and physical potential.

These tasks of plenary sessions are contingent of the employment of greater directness and operativeness in practical management activity; this is provided by the councils. The need to stress their responsibility toward the general membership, to specify their relationship to the committees and/or departments, to work out their relationship to the organizations of national committees, particularly to their economic organizations, the necessity of better coordination among individual departments--all this has been confirmed by the above-mentioned checks conducted by the People's Control Committees of the Czech Socialist Republic in cooperation with the People's Control Committees of the kraq and the okres national committees during the last few years. By controlling the activity of the councils and by systematic sharing of their own insights with them, the People's Control Committees of the national committees can give the councils significant help even when the demands for the level of expertise are raised. We see the help that the People's Control Committees can render to the councils of the national committees in their efforts to create better conditions for the work of the commissions, especially where asserting their controlling and leadership roles is concerned, in searching for suitable subjects for their activity and in including such subjects in the supplement to the work plan of the People's Control Committees of the Czech Socialist Republic, and in the preparation of methodological aids which are, and will continue to be, published in the supplement to the magazine NARODNI VYBORY. People's Control Committees will have to provide help to the national committees on various levels also in the practical execution of such actions and, should the need arise, also in the realization of the actions' results.

The significance of the work of the commissions is increasing especially in the central villages where greater jurisdiction has been delegated by the okres national committees to the local national committees which for all practical purposes function as the okres committees' departments--for instance, in areas of finances, in social and health sectors, in culture and schools, in construction, in keeping public order, including issuance of administrative directives.

Consistent fulfillment of their controlling function is an important source of information for plenary sessions, and suggestions from their work can influence directly the level of steering and organizational work of the executive organs.

The influence and impact of the People's Control Committee of the national committees on improvement of the controlling activity of the commissions--which, judging by our experience, is only partly based on cooperation with the citizenry--must result in more systematic knowledge of the ways in which enterprises managed by the national committees serve the population, ways in

which the departments of the national committees exercise their jurisdiction to arbitrate, ways in which they deal with people and take care of their business. Actually, the analysis of complaints, conducted annually by the People's Control Committees of the Czech Socialist Republic and the whole system of the People's Control Committees brings sufficient information about these matters.

The document pays attention to the work of the representatives, mandates broadening their rights and duties, especially their authority to demand information and to question the representatives of state authorities and enterprises, to pass on suggestions, announcements, and complaints to the appropriate authorities and organizations. It also mandates the duty of these institutions to provide a representative with help, incl. legal help, in fulfilling his duties. It concerns itself also with the work of the apparatus of the national committees, with strengthening of socialist legitimacy in the activities of national committees, with improvement in the organization and activity of national committees in towns and central villages, with the tasks of citizens' committees, with the duties of national committees in areas of economic and social development, with the tasks and activities of central state organs, i.e. of governments and ministries, in their guidance of national committees.

This basic document was followed by a number of others. They reached their peak at the session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on 20 and 21 April 1982. At this plenary session, the work of the national committees was evaluated and the main guidelines for improvement of their work in fulfilling the program of the Sixteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia was discussed. I would like to mention another document of this series which will probably have to be given the greatest attention because it deals specifically with controlling tasks: "Provisions for Advancement of Effectiveness of the Work of National Committees in Central Villages," accepted by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia on 12 December 1980. On the basis of this document, the Czech National Council passed the law No 49/1982, published in the Codex of Laws (in the so-called Short Amendment).

Its significance lies in the fact that they encroach upon the hitherto-existing organization of national committees and also upon the life of great many citizens. It will be therefore necessary to pay particular attention to the implementation of these documents.

If the main aim of these measures is the improvement of the quality of work of national committees and of state administrations and better safeguarding of the complex development of life in central villages, then it is imperative that the job not be left half-done. The quality of life of the citizens of the associated villages must not become worse and more complicated, and the apparatus of the national committees in the central villages must not be expanded to the detriment of the associated villages without bringing the desired results.

Both the expert control, i.e. the control of the plenary sessions, councils, and commissions of the national committees on the local or higher level as well as the control of the People's Control Committees must be geared to areas such as: whether or not there is an increase in the effectiveness of the national committees in central villages in territorial planning (particularly as far as protection of environment and legitimate interests of the citizens are concerned); whether or not there is an uptrend in their influence on construction of housing, or public facilities and utilities; attention must also be paid to the regulating the development of the network of housing settlements, services to citizens, social care, preschool education, as well as to the controlling organs' activity in supplementing the public facilities and utilities, protection and full use of agricultural land resources, protection of public order, and problems of food supply and commerce in general.

In view of the fact that in central villages an apparatus for a qualified expansion of the jurisdiction of state administration is being established which is detrimental to the associated villages, it will also be necessary to establish controls over these problems. National committees in central villages fully support the activity of the citizens' committees which are springing up also in associated villages where until now national committees functioned as sole organs of societal activity. This is a new type of activity which will also have to be looked into, both from the point of organization and from the point of control.

There are good preconditions for doing so, since People's Control Committees of either the local or the city national committees have been established in practically all central villages. Thus in this area, there is much work ahead for both the People's Control Committee of the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic, but especially for the whole structure of the People's Control Committee of the national committees. It will take much organizational effort to train all these new functionaries and to assign them to practical work. It will be necessary to prepare methodological aids for the above-mentioned efforts, to organize cooperation within the whole system and to insure [the new functionaries'] coordinating function in the area of controlling activity and controlling functions of all departments of national committees. In this respect, especially the People's Control Committees of county national committees will be faced with big and challenging tasks.

If this new controlling authority and its activity is to be useful, the results of its work must be used--as has been stated above--primarily by the plenary sessions of the appropriate national committees, or perhaps by the councils, but also by the same organs on higher level national committees. The knowledge gained should be generalized and used also for the steering activity of the Czech and Slovak governments and for the work of individual sectors and, if need be, for assertion of the leading role of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia in our socialist society. However, in order that the results of the controls may serve these purposes, much work awaits us both in insuring high quality and ability to communicate the findings of the

controlling bodies and the control materials in general--not only material from all levels of the system of the boards of public controls but also material from management controls. For this we, the People's Control Committees, have been given responsibility by the "Principles for Implementation of Controls in the National Economy and the National Administration" which was accepted as Governmental Decision No. 139/1982 of the Czech Socialist Republic and published in the Laws Code under the number 66/1982 Sb.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CHEMICAL SERVICES CHIEF OUTLINES TRAINING OBJECTIVES

East Berlin MILITAERTECHNIK in German No 5, 1983 (signed to press 12 Jul 83)
pp 225-227

[Interview with Maj Gen O. Heinz, chief, Chemical Services of the National People's Army (date and place of interview not indicated): "Organize Combat Training Realistically and Under Conditions of Enemy Use of Mass Destruction Weapons"]



Heinz

[Text] [Question] Comrade Major General! The United States and its NATO allies are presently making every effort to implement the Brussels missile decision and to augment their nuclear capability in a stepped-up fashion. Given this threatening situation, what does this mean for the members of the NVA chemical services ?

[Answer] Like all the branches of service, special troops and units of the NVA and the Border Troops of the GDR, the chemical defense units, too, have made new and substantial achievements both in terms of steadily enhancing combat readiness and in combat-related training . This was done in compliance with the resolutions of our party over the past several weeks and months—last but not least also in honor of the Karl Marx commemorative year. There is a distinct need for this in view of the fact that the activities of imperialism directed toward rearmament—particularly in the area of conven-

tional weapons and the new weapons of mass destruction have been increasing and have by now assumed extremely dangerous proportions.

The efforts aimed at accelerated rearmament and the attainment of military superiority are becoming greater all the while. The United States and its NATO partners are enlarging their nuclear capability and developing more and more efficient weapons systems in order to gain an advantage—particularly in the strategic field—over the socialist armies. They are enhancing the capability of their armed forces to fight a brutal and inhuman war.

In addition to making efforts to attain military superiority in strategic nuclear weapons and perfecting both conventional and new weapons systems, they are also looking into all possible ways of modernizing their chemical weapons. The cynical approach to this problem is reflected in an article by Wolfram von Raven in ZIVILVERTEIDIGUNG [Civil Defense] No 3, 1982, a periodical published in the FRG. "Effortlessly—even without the shrill accompaniment of protests and demonstrations in European countries—President Reagan got his program approved which provides for the modernization of U.S. chemical weapons stocks," the article said. "Pentagon plans for the upcoming budget are limited to the modest sum of \$705 million."

History has taught us—and we cannot, in my view, point this out often enough—that imperialist armies tend to use all available means and methods of brutal destruction of human beings in order to achieve their objectives. The use of nuclear weapons by the U.S. Army against the Japanese civilian population at the end of World War II, which in effect had already been decided was an example of this; so was the use of bacteriological and chemical weapons against the Korean population as well as against the Vietnamese liberation forces and the defenseless population of Vietnam.

In view of this criminal conduct of war on the part of the main imperialist forces, it is extremely topical and necessary to prepare for combat under the conditions of the use of all types of destructive weapons by the potential adversary.

The members of the NVA are therefore faced with the task of increasing their efforts toward further enhancing combat readiness; of guaranteeing the protection of our socialist fatherland even in the case of the use of weapons of mass destruction and doing justice to this difficult mission.

[Question] You have referred to the seriousness of the situation and to the need to make further efforts to enhance combat readiness in order to guarantee the safety of our socialist fatherland under all eventualities. In which way have the members of the chemical services met these needs thus far and what are the future goals of political education and military training in the chemical service ?

[Answer] In preparing our officers, warrant officers, non-commissioned officers, petty officers, soldiers and sailors for modern combat, we are applying the standards and rules of war under the conditions of the use of weapons of mass destruction by the adversary. For this reason, it is imperative for commanding officers and training personnel to train the units of the chemical service under conditions of great physical and psychological stress by and by night.

The report of the secretariat of the Political Main Administration (PHV) of the NVA contained the following observation: "Combat training along with political education presently is and will continue to be the major arena of preparation for victory in armed combat. Its standard...will determine combat readiness in a very special way." I believe that the members of the chemical service have properly understood this precept. Our superior officers are communists; the party and FDJ organizations have seen to it in a variety of ways that the members of our armed forces get an increasingly better political idea of why there is a need for realistic combat training and greater achievement. In combat training—particularly on the chemical service training grounds—such conditions are created where everyone can prove his mettle under conditions of acute physical and psychological stress.

The sense of responsibility of every member of the chemical services and of every military collective is playing an ever more important role in the further enhancement of combat readiness. The more aware we are in the fulfillment of our daily duty; the better we plan and organize, the better we will be able to stand up under conditions of modern combat and do justice to our mission. This also calls for maintaining our special chemical equipment in a constant state of readiness and for organizing and conducting combat accordingly. We need both to achieve a high state of combat readiness: well-trained personnel and equipment that is ready for use. And this, in turn, calls for firm class consciousness, great awareness and a sense of responsibility and does not allow for the least laxity in training and education.

The controls and inspections of our chemical defense units carried out over the past several years have shown that this has been properly understood. We have been coming up with good or very good results all along.

[Question] You have been talking about weaponry and special equipment that is getting more and more complicated and about the need to be completely familiar with it. What must be done to achieve mastery in chemical service special equipment ?

[Answer] As nuclear missiles in ever greater number and efficiency were introduced as well as new, highly toxic chemical agents, new concepts and methods of fighting battles and operations were also developed. In connection with them, the mission of the chemical defense units also changed as a matter of course. To fulfill this mission, it was necessary to adapt the technical equipment to these changed conditions and to make it more efficient.

This trend was recognized and analyzed early on and this, in turn, led to technology which increasingly mechanized and in part automated our operations.

Our cadres are outstanding specialists who do justice to both the operational-tactical and the technological requirements of a modern army. In the future, too, we will be making every effort to train our subordinate commanders and specialists for any new mission that may come up because this is a major prerequisite for having our draftees trained quickly and comprehensively as soldiers and specialists.

A responsible attitude toward the equipment is an important guarantee for success in handling it. Based on this precept, great attention must constantly be paid to the personnel-equipment relationship. This relationship will find expression, among other things, in exemplary discipline and order in handling the equipment; particularly during use, care and maintenance. The members of our units and installations have understood this well. This is also proving to be a fact during the licensing inspections for chemical defense units in preparation for instruction on the chemical services training grounds.

To name but a few, I would cite the Adam and the Porschat unit both of which came up not only with good but in fact with excellent results during difficult special tactical exercises lasting several days and completed these without any technical mishap. Over the past few years, we have made good progress in this field, I would say. But we must not make a secret of the fact that there are qualitative differences among the various chemical defense units which we must overcome—our delight over the successes already achieved notwithstanding.

[Question] Awareness of military discipline, the 12th conference of delegates stated, is inextricably linked to a high degree of military mastery. Based on this precept, what new standards of military discipline and order need to be set in the chemical services ?

[Answer] As far as I can see, we have made good progress in the area of military discipline and order since the 12th conference of delegates. This is reflected above all in the increased recognition of the justness of our cause and the readiness of the members of the chemical services to fulfill all of their tasks in the proper military way even under the most difficult

conditions. In situations where they had to prove themselves; in the course of exercises; in realistic combat training on the training grounds and even at their military posts, we found time and again that our soldiers, sailors, petty officers, non-commissioned officers, warrant officers and commissioned officers carried out the orders and regulations conscientiously and with a great deal of personal initiative. This was particularly noticeable in those situations where a man can actually prove his mettle; where he must give proof that he is tough; that he is a good soldier. This means that our commanders and training personnel must do a good job of preparing themselves for duty each and every day and must create the kind of conditions where every man is tested—be he a member of the very smallest collective; be he an operator, a member of a unit or squad or be he on battle station. In other words, a high degree of military discipline and order will be especially in evidence in the course of a tough and realistic combat training exercise which calls for great personal effort.

Orders are the law! In the absence of a high degree of discipline and clear military orders no military mission can be accomplished under modern combat conditions. Another thing which must be kept in mind is that there is no branch of service, no special unit or service that fights on its own. Success will come only, if all the units taking part in combat operate according to a well-coordinated and clearly defined timetable.

This also applies to our attitudes and actions; we of the chemical services are quite clear about that. Anyone wishing to hold his own in combat must be able to rely on the man next to him, on his comrade and he must be prepared to risk his life for him. That is why military discipline and order must be demanded of and observed by everyone every day and every hour no matter what activity he may be engaged in.

The new standards are derived from the requirements of modern warfare. Superficiality and carelessness are paid for dearly in blood and with one's life in war. "In war, there is no such thing as a rough draft which one can copy down or tear up," Konstantin Simonov wrote. "In war, everything is written in blood; everything from start to finish—from the first stroke of the pen until the very last dot."

[Question] The new directives on socialist competition by the minister for national defense have been in effect since the start of the 1982/83 training year. How much do competition and the innovators' movement contribute to the fulfillment of the increasing requirements faced by the chemical services ?

[Answer] When the new directive of the minister for national defense on socialist competition came out, the commanders at all levels were given important instructions which offer a sound guarantee for attaining good results in military life, if they are implemented properly and in the party sense. This also tells us in the chemical services to make even better use of the competitive process in the future in order to achieve good results.

We are focusing in particular on the further intensification of combat training; on enabling our young soldiers to master the special chemical equipment and on firming up our military collectives. The primary focus of all our activities and initiatives is now and will continue to be to ensure a constant high state of combat readiness. It is our aim to conduct man-to-man and collective-to-collective competition even more tightly and to quickly and generally apply the best experiences we make.

A fine example of this are the initiatives and achievements of the chemical defense company headed by Lieutenant Commander U Nank. "The new competition guidelines," he himself has said, "call on us to implement Lenin's principles of openness, comparability and repeatability of results and of moral and material recognition of them. I have made it my job to implement these principles in the competition we are conducting in my company."

Lt Cmdr Nank consults with the party secretary, the secretary of the FDJ basis organization and his platoon leaders. I think this is very important because obligations and initiatives neither come about, nor can they be transformed into high-level performance merely as a result of military orders or in the absence of true convictions and a sense of awareness.

Superior results will be achieved whenever the commanders run the competition in a comparable and repeatable manner and organize it properly. Only in this way can an actual accounting of the performances be done and can the results achieved be properly evaluated. If the competition is run in this manner, the commander will be able to analyze, for instance, why one particular company did "very well" on the licensing inspection for the chemical services training exercise and why another company had to prepare for it all over again before it was permitted to take part.

In other words, we also have to take advantage of the competitive process to help overcome any qualitative differences that still exist.

With regard to the innovators' and masters of tomorrow movement we have had noteworthy successes in the recent past. This was especially evident in the case of the exhibits shown at the main masters of tomorrow fair. I would say that our innovators are doing justice to the main requirements placed on the innovators' and masters of tomorrow movement. The proposals submitted are a big help in making the organization, direction and the continued conduct of combat training more efficient and intensive.

We have also made progress in the establishment and modernization of our training base and in the creation of modern training aids. I would like to mention above all the atomic radiation air reconnaissance trainer which we already introduced in an earlier issue of MILITAERTECHNIK;^{*}

^{*} K. Beyer, "Atomic Radiation Air Reconnaissance Trainer," MILITAER-TECHNIK No 4 1982, p 199.

furthermore, there is the training installation for special treatment of equipment with the help of the TZ 74 decontamination unit and a so-called triggering device for decoys in the terrain.

Such training aids permit us to achieve higher efficiency in real terms and to achieve high economic gain while lowering cost.

Aside from training on trainers and simulators, combat training in unfamiliar terrain by day and night and under rapidly changing conditions is the most important type of preparation for modern combat which our troops undergo. That is why both types of training—which is to say the use of trainers and simulators and realistic combat training in the terrain—are equally meaningful and to be utilized in a properly balanced way.

In the final analysis, the object is to achieve a high level of coordination among the different units of the chemical services and to bring about close cooperation both among the chemical defense units themselves and between them and the service branches, special units and commands under all conditions. These principles will also guide us in our future direction of the innovators' and masters of tomorrow movements and thus contribute to the further enhancement of combat readiness.

In this effort let me wish our branches of service, our units and installations much success and good results.

9478

CSO: 2300/417

WESTERN TV INFLUENCE ON EDUCATIONAL PROBLEM

West Berlin DER TAGESSPIEGEL in German 3 Sep 83 p 3

/Article by Michael Mara, TAGESSPIEGEL staff member: "GDR Youth Learns from 'Class Enemy'."/

/Text/ GDR citizens, especially the young ones, are in general amazingly well informed about the West, at least more thoroughly so than is the case among young people in the Federal Republic. This is primarily due to the strong use of Western electronic media in the GDR which causes great concern to the SED leadership and educational institutions. In recent times they have increasingly attacked the "ideological diversion of the enemy" by means of border-crossing media.

According to GDR polls, watching TV and listening to the radio are ranked number one and two among leisure time activities of youngsters. Compared with 10 years ago, for instance, today young GDR citizens make "longer use of radio and television." A contributing factor is that households are frequently equipped with more than **one** television and radio set. For example, a growing number of young people have their own TV sets.

Striking Reserve

No figures are published in the GDR on the reception of Western broadcasts; apparently, appropriate studies are lacking. In the latest edition of the East Berlin magazine UNTERHALTUNGSKUNST /Entertainment Art/ a TV critic complained that in the GDR, unfortunately, there exists "no broad and publicly discussed media analysis." There is a dearth of "substantiated studies on TV viewing habits and their correlation to sociological developments," and of related figures.

Naturally, this holds **especially** true with regard to usage of western electronic media. Behind this obvious reserve lies apparently the fear to tackle this still "hot iron." It is no secret in the GDR that the population prefers Western stations as a source of information, or at least informs itself from both sides in order to gain an "objective view."

GDR teachers, for instance, complain that their students possess a great deal of information from Western channels and that they are constantly confronted by it

during class. It is especially serious that such information and arguments have a considerable influence on the political attitudes of young people in the GDR.

GDR studies proved that the mass media rank as the principal influencing factor after parents--among high school students very clearly so, among young skilled workers and university graduates only very slightly--but in all cases far above that of high school teachers. From this it is easily seen that teachers don't have an easy job with the "communist education" of youth.

The SED has long tried to neutralize the influence of the Federal Republic's electronic media, particularly on youth. There was no lack of attempts in the past to keep young people from watching Western television, and pressure was exerted. But this has been given up in the meantime because of the failure of these methods. In its resolution of 18 May 1977 on "further tasks of political work regarding the masses," the SED politburo demanded the education of citizens who are "armed against all influences by imperialist politics and bourgeois ideology."

A broad-based "media education" is supposed to contribute to this, and lately it has been under wider discussion in the GDR. In a study by East Berlin education and media expert Wolfgang Reischock, he comes to the conclusion that it is not sufficient to blame a youngster "because he watches FRG television broadcasts." The problem is how he "evaluates" these broadcasts and their ideological statements "and is able to cope with them."

Reischock admits that the intention to prescribe rigorously and precisely "which broadcasts people should see, and which ones they should turn off" is in general condemned to failure, just like the attempt to dictate totally to a listener how he is to understand certain information and what he is to think of it. Such intentions and attempts are unrealistic and must be rejected for both political and educational reasons.

In his opinion, to ward off "the enemy influence," it is necessary rather "to create conditions which make possible an inner party selection and evaluation" of Western information. The East Berlin expert emphatically points out that Western influence "can be defied through our own intensive and well-executed mass agitation via socialist media and other channels, but that it cannot be eliminated, neutralized or, above all, reversed in the meaning of our own political intentions" through these means alone.

To See Through Enemy Tactics

From these basic considerations, Reischock and other GDR experts see in a broadly based "media education" a task of "fundamental ideological significance." Among other things, it must develop youth's capability "to receive all mass communications critically, to evaluate communications content by party standards, to grapple with them actively, and especially to see through enemy methods, tactics and strategies of opinion molding and to render them ineffective."

To reach this goal, in Reischock's opinion a "special methodology" is needed which is still missing at present. Also lacking is a general concept of "media education."

HUNGARY

BUDAPEST REPORTS FURTHER ON BUSH PRESS CONFERENCE

LD201827 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 20 Sep 83

[U.S. Vice President Bush speaking in English fading into translation throughout]

[Excerpts] United States Vice President George Bush concluded his visit to Hungary with his press conference this morning. Eva Vertes sums up his program today as well as what she heard at the press conference.

[Begin recording] [Vertes] This is how George Bush evaluated his stay of 26 hours and his discussions in the brief introductory statement he made at the international press conference.

[Bush] The productive discussions which we held during my stay in Budapest have strengthened my conviction that continuous discussions and exchange of views are important between our countries. Both sides have clearly expressed their commitment with which they labor for the cause of European and world peace and security, by the means of the further strengthening of our bilateral relations and the continuous participation on the wider international arena. I leave Hungary with the conviction that we did everything in the interest of the maintenance of the cordial and stable relations which exist between our countries, and it is my firm conviction that these efforts (?will) continue on both sides and lead to further cooperation.

[Vertes] The U.S. vice president received the largest number of questions about the two countries' relations. Within this topic, most questions centered on the possibilities of increasing economic and trade cooperation.

[Bush] We are trading with Hungary because this is in the interest of the United States; while you, I presume, do so because it is in Hungary's interest. The more extensive and the more open, freer, this cooperation, the more advantageous it is for both of us.

[Vertes] This, however, is made difficult by the annual approval of the principle of the so-called most favored nation status. The vice president discussed this, too, with his hosts. They asked him: Could this not be changed, could it not be prolonged for a longer duration, for years?

[Bush] If the question is: Do I see any chance of this? The answer is yes, but for the time being I cannot say more. I do not even know when this could happen. But it is obvious that with the development of relations, this will sooner or later be desired by both sides.

[Vertes] Bush, answering international questions, described the Madrid conference as successful, but by no means as the end of the road. In connection with the missile deployment, and the Geneva conference, he repeated the well-known American stand which expects flexibility only from the Soviet Union. Answering a question by the radio reporter he said: Though he does not see Reagan's cards fully, he considers it probable that the President will offer himself for reelection, and this is true of himself as well. His farewell words reflect the main achievement of his visit and its positive result. This is what he said:

[Bush] Today, when I leave here, I better understand Hungary, her people and her interests. [end recording]

CSO: 2500/465

HUNGARY

FINNISH FOREIGN MINISTER CITED ON KADAR'S UPCOMING VISIT

LD162133 Budapest MTI in English 1019 GMT 16 Sep 83

[Text] Helsinki, 15 Sep (MTI)--From our correspondent, Tamas Kocsis:

Finnish Foreign Minister Paavo Vayrynen, who has met Hungarian journalists on the occasion of the forthcoming visit of Janos Kadar to Finland attached great importance to the visit of the HWSP first secretary to Finland. "We in Finland highly appreciate the meetings of senior statesmen of our countries. This is also true in this situation. I am of the opinion that the visit paid by President Koivisto to Hungary last autumn opened a new and important epoch of the exchange of views between First Secretary Janos Kadar and our president. There improving dialogue is an important fact itself. I am sure that there talks will result in mutually advantageous achievements and our countries' friendship will improve.

"The relations of our countries, based on the relationship of our nations, are friendly and cordial. There are no controversial issues between our countries, consequently, our relations set a good example for the successful cooperation of countries of diverging social systems."

On trade issues the Finnish foreign minister stated: "Last year Hungary was the second important partner of Finland behind the Soviet Union. Both export and import reached record height. However, this year turnover dropped slightly. Our aim is to make our commercial relations comprehensive and further develop cooperation. I hope results can be experienced soon."

On international issues the foreign minister stressed: "Finland considers important the process of security and cooperation in Europe. We welcome the positive result of the Madrid meeting," he said and added: "The Madrid meeting took place in an extremely delicate international political situation. The positive results of the Madrid meeting indicate that every participating country is aware of the vitality and usefulness of the Helsinki process.

"The continuity of the process of security and cooperation in Europe is of particular importance. The balanced and substantial final document of the Madrid meeting secures continuity; moreover, opens up new prospects. A conference on confidence, confidence building and disarmament will open in Stockholm next year. The conference is especially important for countries which do not belong to military alliances, such as Finland. The Stockholm conference will provide the first opportunity for the countries represented at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to attend talks on security issues of the continent," stated the Finnish foreign minister.

HUNGARY

UK FOREIGN SECRETARY HOWE INTERVIEWED

LD171931 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1400 GMT 17 Sep 83

[From the "168 Hours" program; interview with British Foreign Secretary Sir Geoffrey Howe by Eva Vertes in Budapest; date not given--Howe replies in English with superimposed Hungarian translation]

[Text] [Vertes] Mr Foreign Secretary, do you believe that the maintenance and regularity of such visits contribute to the improvement of relations between countries?

[Howe] I think that such visits are very important for both sides for they contribute to a better knowledge and understanding of each other's stand in international questions. At the same time they can help advance the development of commercial links also.

[Vertes] It was precisely this I wanted to ask you about, for until June you were not foreign secretary but Chancellor of the Exchequer in the Thatcher Government and therefore you would surely be particularly interested in the subject. Do you agree that the opportunities that exist in this respect between Hungary and the United Kingdom have been left to a very large extent unexploited?

[Howe] I am sure that there are still lots of unexploited opportunities, for the commercial relations of Great Britain with Hungary are far from what they could be, or how we would like to see them, despite the fact that this would be in the interest of both countries. Of course, the decision depends on the enterprises and institutions and on finding the various forms and modes of such cooperation. The task of governments is to encourage them. I also held talks about this in Budapest and I raised some possibilities. I am sure that among these there are some which could be of interest to the Hungarians.

[Vertes] Many still think that Great Britain is somehow outside Europe. They say that it is not a continental country--of course, not in a geographical sense. I know that this is already a dated view but I think that belonging to Europe can be proven best today by what we do for the maintenance of the Helsinki spirit.

[Howe] We, as you, definitely feel that we are Europeans, belong to Europe. There are many cultural and other ties that link our countries together here on the continent. I consider it important that this fact should be recognized and understood. Naturally, it is our mutual interest to increase the security of Europe, to reduce and remove the risk of war and to ensure that human rights prevail in Europe and everywhere in the world. It is for this that I consider the Madrid CSCE an important event, that we were all there, even if the concrete results at Madrid are rather modest.

[Vertes] In what do you see the role of small countries in international life, particularly in a period when East-West relations have worsened, as they have recently. I think of those small countries like Hungary.

[Howe] I think it is important that we should recognize the fact that various groups of states and political and economic alliances exist in the world. At the same time, each state is an individual one, too, within its own system of alliance; therefore, it can, itself, contribute something to the great international causes of the world. In this sense the fact that we speak of a small or a big country has no significance whatever. Great Britain is somewhat bigger than Hungary but they are both small in comparison to really big countries in terms of size of territory and population. This, however, by no means excuses us, either Hungary or Britain, from each of us looking for and finding how we can contribute to great international dialogue.

CSO: 2500/465

STRIKE OCCURRENCES DISCUSSED BY TRADE UNION DAILY

Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 3 Sep 83 p 3

[Interview with Jozsef Kohari, director of the National Trade Union Council School, by Laszlo Diosdi, date and place not given]

[Text] "Do we have strikes, deliberately organized, protest work stoppages?" many asked after we wrote a few weeks ago, that at the Budapest Zoldert [vegetable marketing] Enterprise, because of a bad work organization measure not discussed in advance with the workers or trade union, the truck drivers did not do their work for a few hours. They protested in this way, ultimately successfully. And what they could not achieve within the available organizational frameworks they did achieve with this method, unusual and unnecessary here. The other part of the questions pertained to what position the trade union takes in such extraordinary cases, because the basic theoretical position of and stand taken by the movement both disapprove of this method of realizing demands under socialist relationships. I looked up Jozsef Kohari, director of the SZOT [National Trade Union Council] Central School, with our questions. I selected him because they deal with such questions in the course of training trade union officials too.

[Question] I know that we have selected an unusual theme for the interview, but it is not unjustified because according to what I have heard the Zoldert case was not unique in the practice of the past few years. Do we have an approximately precise picture of where and why there has been this form of protest, or to put it more finely, this form of warning?

[Answer] We do not have a comprehensive, precise picture. Not only because such examples surface by chance, I might say almost accidentally, in the course of debates and talks, but also because, having made inquiries of a good number of trades for this interview, we have found that they do not deal regularly with this phenomenon anywhere--simply because of its unique nature. There are no documents about such cases, they keep statistics nowhere. But according to what we do know there have been two or three such cases per branch in the most important branches in the past 3-5 years, cases where small groups of workers stopped work for a few hours.

[Question] Perhaps they do not keep records on work stoppages because they would be ashamed that such a thing took place?

[Answer] I say definitely no. The fact is that paper work in such cases is most often superfluous. But drawing the lessons is not superfluous--not even in the smallest case. Even though the nature and magnitude of the cases is such that they are taken care of locally, and if not then they are handled with the verbal intervention of the trade union branch organs, by compromise, or simply by clearing up the differences.

[Question] Since the level of trade union work is inseparable from the condition of society as a whole, I can imagine that a work stoppage, for whatever reason, is not made public--and I mean not only press publicity but also movement publicity--because it would cast a bad light on the leadership of the plant or enterprise.

[Answer] You tell me who is happy to talk about troubles in his own house, about irregular phenomena or phenomena so considered? Who would get up and say that this form of protest in this or that plant is not a cause but an effect--because our leadership methods are bad, because the forums of place of work democracy are not functioning or are functioning only formally, because we are not paying attention to indications from or complaints of the workers? Because this is what is involved. Our trade unions have sufficient authority to settle disputed affairs, but people can debate and convince one another only in an honest partner relationship. And it is not honest if the workers or the trade union representatives are left out of the discussion of matters affecting them; or if decisions are made without them, over their head. Because most frequently this is what is happening. But make no mistake, I am not talking only about economic leaders who work badly, with methods alien to democracy. I cannot excuse the trade union leader either, the one who may not know about a bad measure officially, but who, because he lives there among the workers, does know how things stand, knows of the increasing tension, but remains silent because that is more comfortable, because that may not cause trouble.

[Question] Sandor Gaspar said in a talk with trade union leaders that if people choose this form of protest somewhere here today--namely a strike--it quickly turns out that what was involved was not some insoluble opposition but rather leadership incompetence, insensitivity to the problems of the workers.

[Answer] When there is a work stoppage it is a serious criticism of the work of the economic and trade union leaders. The concrete examples indicate this also. Two years ago, at the Railway Vehicle Factory of the Raba Car and Machine Factory in Győr, the workers stopped work for a few hours in protest against the size of the annual norm adjustment. As a result of talks with representatives of the directorate who appeared personally there was a compromise--the increased norm stood but they agreed on a wage refund. At the Nagyatád factory unit of Danuvia the workers took a united stand against the leaders because of work supply problems. As the result of a debate lasting several hours--of course work stopped while they debated--the leaders were forced to take action and they guaranteed work to the workers being paid for performance.

In connection with two cases in the chemical industry there was no concrete stoppage, but the workers talked about stopping work if their problems were not remedied urgently. One of the cases was this year; the repairmen at the TIGAZ unit in Nyiregyhaz considered the norm adjustment offensive, they did not accept the answer of the economic leadership but turned with their complaint to the director general and the Trade Union of Chemical Industry Workers. Since they felt that the settlement of their affairs was being dragged out they said on the telephone, "If you do not take care of our complaint urgently things will stop."

The other affairs was more than a year ago. At the Tatbanya Aluminum Foundry several work brigades, seeking a way to switch to a 5-day week, undertook to extend the daily work time from 6 to 8 hours. The other workers thought that this method of switching would be obligatory for everyone, so they "threatened a stoppage" in protest. The enterprise put an end to the experiment. So the cause of the conflict in one case was unjustifiedly prolonged office work and in the other it was not providing basic information to the workers.

Finally, let us look at the construction workers. Even the press reported at the time that several workers of the Heves Megye Construction Industry Enterprise working in Kispest had stopped because of inadequate social conditions. Finding out about the situation the trade union committee took action to take the workers home. Work resumed a week later, after the conditions were remedied.

Two years ago there was a work stoppage of a few hours in the Hodmezovasarhely factory of the Alfold Porcelain Factory because of a wage correction which had been carried out with inadequate circumspection. Even the trade center--bringing in experts--participated in the study and resolution of the matter and the decision was modified in accordance with the just desires of the workers. Tension also arose at the Budapest Housing Construction Enterprise because of easily remedied social problems. When the workers threatened a work stoppage the leaders were able to settle matters in days to the satisfaction of the workers.

[Question] It appears even from these briefly reported examples that the trade union organs also participated in the resolution of conflict situations. Could you formulate the position in principle with which they did this?

[Answer] They did not do it from any sort of outsider position, for the essence of the dual task of the trade unions is to aid, as a possessor of power, the economic building work representing the basis for the enrichment of society, and to help remove obstacles holding back development. This is a basic political interest. And within this or together with this they must carry out--ever better--the interest protection, interest representation tasks, not avoiding conflicts, making use of the forums of place of work democracy, not formally but rather according to their functions, making consistent use of the possibilities of interest protection work guaranteed by our policy, of the constitutional and legal guarantees. This is the position in principle. There are places where the exercise of the dual function goes well;

in other places it is still in baby shoes. But do not forget that the trade union movement is not some sort of static entity but rather a constantly developing and changing formation of society which faces new problems every day in a changing world, problems which could not be prepared for in advance. It is not always easy for even the best trained officials to give responsible, self-confident and honest answers to these.

What is the situation today? Because of our well known problems we cannot meet the just demands of everyone, of every social stratum. And unjust demands arise too. He who is dissatisfied tries to give expression to it. It is not easy for the trade unions to decide what is just or even how to rank the just demands. I am convinced that the movement is doing this analytical work at an ever better level, and the workers will fall back on the veto or the strike only if the workers feel somewhere that their problems or complaints are not being dealt with regularly, that they are being swept from the table under various pretexts or with power arguments. The activity of the workers in reacting to frankly disclosed problems is an example that they understand and accept them. But they will not accept lifeless solutions or having complaints brushed aside. The movement has an obligation to deal with these phenomena. In whatever form they appear.

[Question] In your opinion, what sort of indications are given, primarily, by the examples cited?

[Answer] First of all they indicate that in some places there is trouble in mass political work, in contact between workers and leaders. This may indicate a lack of sensitivity or experience on the part of the leadership, but one must question the suitability of a leader if he remains insensitive to problems and warnings when they hit him in the eye for a long time. We talk a lot about the characteristics of a socialist leader. In my opinion, of equal rank with professional understanding and reliability is the ability to pay attention to the most important factor of production, the human being, and to understand that, in whatever post, a leader can count on success in the realization of his ideas only if he can get his subordinates behind him for good goals, enlist their understanding, will and enthusiasm. We have quite a few such leaders, but unfortunately there are also those for whom place of work democracy is a formality obliging nothing.

[Question] I cannot avoid putting the question baldly: Do the trade unions agree with occasional work stoppages as an extreme form of protest?

[Answer] Under our circumstances the strike, as a necessary tool for the realization of interests, is unacceptable not only to the trade unions but to the workers also, for it weakens us ourselves and we cause damage to ourselves. Under our circumstances--struggling in an uneasy process--the trade unions participate in the preparation, execution and supervision of every decision affecting our social, political and economic life, affecting the living and working conditions of the workers. The necessary theoretical, political and legal guarantees for this exist. Where these guarantees suffer injury there is possibility for appropriate trade union action, for protest, debate and the direct or compromise realization of interests. In the most

sensitive matters there is the property--and the requisite social environment--that if the antagonisms are made public then, in accordance with our principles and policy, they will reach that democratic forum in which the movement methods expressing mass contacts will dominate and not the position announced as valid ex officio.

Not long ago an American TV company prepared a report at our school.. They put the question: Do we teach the officials how to organize a strike? Naturally we answered that we do not teach them this, because of our theoretical-political position expressed above. On the contrary, we try to teach them what behavior to present in the event of conflicts, how to make use of their rights, so that there will not be a strike. And I must say that it is easy to get our students to understand that the strike is not our weapon; it is more difficult to get them to understand what other tools and methods can be used to resolve conflicts.

[Question] Finally, a practical question. What can a trade union leader do if the workers propose a work stoppage if their requests are not met?

[Answer] I believe that our trade union movement is grown up enough so that the officials can give answers to the ever increasing, new, unusual and unexpected questions of life. But I must emphasize one thing. Simply because we are talking about spontaneous, unique cases culminating in emotions we should not deal with emotions, and especially not with superficial aspects of human behavior; rather, we should deal with the causes producing the events. If we know them not only will we understand the people participating in them but we will find the possibility for measures resolving the conflicts too.

8984

CSO: 2500/458

TOURISM CONTINUES TO GROW

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 31 Jul 83 p 3

[Article: "More Foreign Tourists"]

[Text] The first 6-month balance of our tourist traffic has been favorable: nearly 1.7 million foreign tourists have visited our country, 265,000 more than during the same period last year. Altogether they have spent a little more than 10 million guest nights in our country, 5 percent more than during the first 6 months of 1982. Our revenues from tourism have increased by 22 percent, amounting to almost 5.6 billion forints. Adding to the importance of this success is the fact that this was achieved during a period when the economic situation forced many tourists to be more budget-minded, causing many to devote less time to foreign vacations and to seek out less expensive services. Our "take" for the first 6 months is also encouraging from the point of view of our yearly tourist revenues if we consider that the main season did not start until July.

Compared to the first 6 months of last year, between January and June almost one and a half times as many, or more than 1.2 million people visited Hungary from the socialist countries, with especially notable increases in the number of Czechoslovak, Soviet and Polish tourists. Tourists from the socialist countries spent nearly a half a million more guest nights in our country than last year at this time. The active balance of our ruble-cleared tourism during the first 6 months was 34 million transferable rubles, 12 million rubles higher than during the same period last year.

Although on a more moderate scale--showing about a 2 percent increase--the number of tourists from capitalist countries also rose to nearly a half a million. They also spent 50,000 more nights here than last year. The first 6-month balance of our capitalist tourist traffic was also active, with revenues exceeding expenditures by \$54 million.

Most of our foreign guests are attracted by Lake Balaton. This year the quality of guest accommodations has continued to improve on both shores of the lake. Some hotels have built adjoining miniature golf courses and tennis courts and four Balaton hotels have added swimming pools to their facilities. They have also modernized the Balaton shore camping grounds. It was for this purpose that the 50 million forints earmarked by the National Tourist Office for the beautification of camp sites and the improvement of services were spent.

There has also been an increase in tourist traffic in other areas of the country. Tourists arriving to spend a few days--mostly from neighboring Austria--are coming mainly to visit the towns and tourist spots of western Hungary. In Sopron they have just opened a new and expanded hotel. In addition, in Baja, Szentendre, Rackeve and Sarospatak there are new motels waiting for guests. Our Visegrad and Orfu tourist centers and Lake Velence guest facilities have also undergone development. In the large village of Hortobagy a 120-person camping site has opened for the duration of the Hortobagy equestrian days, where guests can also rent bicycles to discover--under the guidance of expert tour guides--the local national park.

9379

CSO: 2500/442

POLITICAL CABARET AIRED ON TELEVISION

Budapest UJ TUEKOER in Hungarian 7 Aug 83 p 31

[Article by Isrvan Tamas: "Political Cabaret"]

[Text] Political cabaret is an extremely sensitive flower. It can wither or bloom at every change of the wind. It depends on when and which way the wind blows. This sensitivity goes back to the beginnings of this artistic form. One of its other characteristics--among others--is that it requires notable writer-politician-type personalities. The kind that can not only joke about but also talk about politics. Ten to fifteen years ago the representatives of world magazines and news services visiting our country considered it almost as much part of protocol to request tickets to our cabaret theaters as to arrange meetings with our politicians.

The television viewer, however--and this is quite natural--does not see the same things as those attending the cabaret. Usually he only gets to see portions, segments and certain numbers. Or a TV cabaret arrangement. In almost direct proportion to the souring of the foreign policy situation during the past 3-4 years, these have become somewhat "innocent." Their authors and directors have avoided exposing themselves to heat from above.

As it turns out, we have not seen any embers falling from the sky. We can make good cabaret. Although at the moment it has no outstanding personalities, it does have a competent collective of contributors. And the audience is craving for public cabarets; although the sky of politics is covered with clouds, we can, what is more, we need to laugh.

In "Without Demand for Perfection" (directed by Imre Halasi) there were--and not in small numbers--several time-tested firecrackers, buns suited for consumption at any time and some standard comedy, but it also contained some real politics, strong sarcasm, good humor and real social abuses. There were plenty of opportunities for hard laughs. Laughing always helps: both to forget and to remember. Both are important. However, it takes a program that involves the audience.

This cabaret, for the most part, has succeeded in doing this by touching on some of the annoying and at times bitter absurdities that affect our lives using responsible humor and mockery. By this I do not want to give the impression that what I saw was an outstanding and devastatingly powerful political cabaret; all I am saying is that it stands out among television productions of similar character produced during the past few years.

It does have possibilities and a future.

9379

CSO: 2500/442

BOOK EXAMINES ROOTS OF RUSSIAN POLITICAL THOUGHT

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian July, 1983 p 38

[Article by M. Sz.: "Erzsebet Koves: East and West"]

[Text] "Caligula would have liked to cut off the heads of his entire people with a single stroke, while Nicholas had a different dream--he would have liked to cut off all heads with one stroke that rose above the average," wrote S. M. Sovoloviev, one of the outstanding historians of the last century, about Czar Nicholas I, whose every effort was aimed at preserving his empire's autocratic condition and who in order to ensure this isolated it from what he considered to be the greatest danger threatening it, the "subversive and harmful" ideas coming from the West. It was, however, impossible to halt the influx of new ideas at the borders of Russia, for they began to penetrate the thinking of a relatively small intelligentsia whose intellectual quality and impact was all the more notable. Despite the autocratic rule of Nicholas's police state and its repression of thinking minds, the 1840s were a glorious era for Russian intellectual life--in it we can witness the birth of contemporary Russian political thinking.

Erzsebet Kovacs assumed a pioneering role when she decided to record the history of the thought of this era. For there have been relatively few works written in Hungarian--and even these have been more of a literary, cultural and general-history orientation--about the Russian of the first half of the 19th century.

Although according to the introduction its primary goal is to explore one of the undoubtedly most significant intellectual events of the 1840s, the Slavophile-Western debate, the book offers considerably more. It gives us a comprehensive and colorful description of this period and acquaints us with some of the unique characteristics of Russian statehood and the czarist system. The reader is given thorough guidance by the author through the various, often out at all easy-to-follow trends with explanations regarding their origins and conflicts. It takes a revealing look at how the same starting point--i.e. the clear difference between Western and Russian development and the insistence on the "different"-ness of the Russian way--can lead to the development of radically diverse trends and conclusions.

Erzsebet Koves' idea-rich book takes sensitive notice of the still timely lessons of the ideological debates and is yet another valuable addition to Hungarian Russicist literature, which happily has been expanding recently. (Magveto Publishers)

9379

CSO: 2500/442

KISZ PUBLISHES HANDBOOK ON HISTORY AND HISTORIOGRAPHY

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian July 1983 p 38

[Article by L.S.: "Historical Awareness--Historical Approach"]

[Text] This collection was prepared for use by the leaders and propagandists of KISZ [Communist Youth League]. It contains law studies, reports and essays, including the concluding articles of some memorable press debates. A considerable number--28,000--of these small pocket-size volumes have been published; hence, it is expected to reach many people--hopefully, since its price is not too high: 15 forints.

The greatest merit of the book is its broad scope: it contains virtually every noteworthy view, including writings by Gyula Illyes, Eva Ancsel, Gyorgy Szaraz and Istvan Nemeskurty, just to mention the names of some of its non-professional historian-contributors, and works by such professionals as Ferenc Glatz, Antal Bohm and Peter Hanak. Some of the studies contained in the volume were prepared on the basis of speeches delivered at various conferences and some had been written for daily papers and periodicals.

On the basis of the above the reader's impressions could still very well be mixed. The basic experience of the book, however, does not warrant this. Without a doubt, its most important point is that today's views of history have a rather rapidly changing content of awareness. Its next important observation is that there are still many unanswered questions: incorrect, poorly written and unclear events; and interpretations. One of the greatest dangers and costs that can result from historical misinterpretations and especially from deliberate misconstructions is that they turn people's general awareness and everyday thinking in the wrong direction. Not knowing history not only means a void to be filled in people's general education, but it also creates a certain degree of confusion. Many people have fallen and still continue to fall into this trap. For example, one of the most sensitive and perhaps most hotly debated questions today is how the concept of being a nation and being Hungarian should be viewed and interpreted. The value of the volume is

clearly manifested in its efforts to help clarify these important and extremely sensitive concepts by pointing out the processes which at the same time also characterize the changing of public awareness.

One indication of the subject's importance is the fact that the last of the studies had been heard in the form of a lecture last summer and 4 months later the volume was already published. This is more than spoiling the reader, this speed almost amounts to witchcraft.

(Youth Publishing House)

9379

CSO: 2500/442

HUNGARY

TIMAR FORWARDS NEWS FOR NINETY COUNTRIES

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Aug 83 p 9,10

/Article by Jarai: "American News Services Correspondent--The Nameless Chronicler"/

/Text/ The whole thing started by chance. It resulted from an accidental meeting that he started learning English, and also independently of his own intentions as he "dribbled" into press work.

An elderly British couple that ended up in Budapest somehow in the mad vortex that proceeded the World War were childless and took a special pleasure in the increasingly frequent visits paid them by the 10-year-old Pest youngster, teaching him English as if they were teaching their own child his native tongue.

True, they did not have a difficult task: Andras Timar--because this was the lad who was so hungry to learn--turned out to have a natural linguistic talent. At the age of 16 years he was already speaking English at the level of a native speaker (in fact he even taught it!). Having finished his French studies at the Peter Pazmany University, he quickly passed his examination in Paris in the Gallic language also, and after a little while he began his studies in Old Japanese, Russian, German, Latin, Italian, Greek and Swedish. But his true love remained English.

Because of his impeccable language knowledge he received a position with the Allied Control Commission where first he was an interpreter (as a university student), and then he managed press affairs; when about 1957 the first Western news agencies appeared in our country, one of the most famous, the American AP, asked him to perform duties for the correspondents. His knowledge was by then widely known and his work was soon creditable. In 1962 his position became permanent. Today Andrew Timar is the permanent Hungarian correspondent of the great American news agency that has a correspondent network in 90 countries, and "secondarily" he is also on the staff of the Budapest paper of the English-language MTI /Hungarian Telegraph Agency/ DAILY NEWS.

Forwarding News to the West

("The basic condition for work performed with the cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' press department and the government's Information Office is a perfect language knowledge and absolute correctness. On both sides. On the basis of news items which have appeared in the Hungarian press, on radio and television, I sent by telex news that is based strictly on facts, and backgrounders. In addition to the dailies I regularly follow the weeklies and several journals. If some kind of special event occurs the news agency always sends a special correspondent either from Vienna or from some other main Western European office." he states.)

On a daily average, a correspondent's work means two or three telex items or commentaries. Sometimes even more, for in the 1980's our country has been the site of more and more international events which stimulate the curiosity of the large international news agencies.

("I send it as a special news item if some event occurs which affects Hungarian-American relations. And in addition to daily political events I also have favorite subjects. For example, I am greatly interested in Oriental studies, I myself have pursued investigative studies and am proud that I can call Ervin Batkai my personal friend. Also Pal Patzay, Aurel Bernath and other great artists. I like the arts, music, ballet as well as science. For example, I wrote a series on the Nobel prize winners of Hungarian descent, and although among others I have met Indira Gandhi, Reddi, Khrushchev, U Thant, Nixon, Chou En-lai and Sadat, the most memorable for me have been the conversations I had with Albert Szent-Gyorgyi near Boston and with Werner Heisenberg in Budapest.")

Certainly this work is interesting and varied, interspersed with travel and meetings with famous personalities. But it is also work of extreme responsibility. And this is doubly true of Andras Timar's work. On one hand because socialist Hungary is called on to present an objective picture, and on the other hand because a good share of the problems of the Accredited Foreign Correspondents' Association in Hungary rests practically on his shoulders.

("The association was formed in the mid-1960's with the helpful cooperation of the press department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Information Office, and the National Federation of Hungarian Journalists. The work of the organization is managed by a five-member presidium in which I perform the tasks of the secretary. We hold an annual general meeting at which more than 90 journalists who report to about 30 countries elect a new presidium. It is the task of the association to ease and help the work of the journalists accredited to our country--in practice, however, and to the joy of us all, we have long since become a circle of friends...) Heaps of experiences and observations--from which perhaps others might also learn...What if Andras Timar were to collect these in the form of a book? He winks inquisitively with the modesty of men of great knowledge and culture: "For the time being I would like to be only a modest, nameless chronicler of history."

The conditional mood is superfluous. He already is.

BRIEFS

FOREIGN MINISTER TO U.S.--Budapest, 19 Sep (MTI)--Today Hungarian Foreign Minister Dr Peter Varkonyi left on an official visit to Washington on the invitation of Secretary of State George P. Shultz. Dr Peter Varkonyi will then attend the 38th U.N. General Assembly at the head of the Hungarian delegation. [Text] [LD191302 Budapest MTI in English 1027 GMT 19 Sep 83]

KAL INCIDENT, U.S. BUDGET--In Washington, the House of Representatives, like the Senate, has voted in favor of the military budget for the next financial year. The budget prescribes a 5-percent growth, according to which \$187.5 billion will be spent on the army's development, and the start and continuation of military programs. There is also a possibility for the start of B-1 bomber manufacture. Our New York correspondent, Elemer Csak, citing U.S. papers reports that the result of the vote is in no small degree due to the anti-Soviet campaign that developed in the last week or two. The Washington legislature, in fact, unanimously adopted a resolution which qualifies the shooting down of the South Korean plane that penetrated Soviet airspace as a crime. [Text] [LD161043 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0600 GMT 16 Sep 83]

ROMANIAN MINORITY ACTIVITIES--Budapest, 19 Sep (MTI)--After meetings in County Hajdu-Bihar, preparations for the 6th Congress of the Democratic Federation of Romanians in Hungary to be held in November concluded in County Bekes by a meeting for the election of deputies, in the N. Balcescu secondary school in Gyula. As meetings to elect deputies will only be held in County Csongrad and in the Budapest Romanian Club, a comprehensive survey on national minority policy, use of the mother-tongue, and the work of deputies at the November Congress is being held. Participants of the 20 meetings held in counties Hajdu-Bihar and Bekes, where the majority of the Romanian minority live, stressed that Romanians living in Hungary are satisfied with the national minority policy and the present situation. Proportional representation of Romanians in state authorities is assured, country minority committees are in operation, and summer folk art camps have been successful. The Romanian Club movement is developing well and the first two numbers of IZVORUL, a folk art periodical of Romanians, have been issued. The monthly periodical FOAIA NOASTRA now appears weekly and Hungarian radio and television have started the broadcast of programmes in Romanian. [Text] [LD191932 Budapest MTI in English 1755 GMT 19 Sep 83]

STRUCTURE, ORGANIZATION OF ZSL DISCUSSED

Warsaw WIES WSPOLCZESNA in Polish No 6, Jun 83 pp 20-29

[Article by Witold Dabski: "Problems of ZSL Organizational Activities"]

[Text] The successful implementation of the agricultural policy and the program to expand agriculture and food production, as well as the resolutions and decisions of the 11th Joint Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and the NK ZSL [United Peasant Party Supreme Committee] will depend to a basic extent on the activity, initiatives and operating results of the social forces in the rural areas, of which PZPR and ZSL members are in the forefront.

No doubt, the possibilities for the party and the ZSL to influence the rural communities are great, although these possibilities are actuated and utilized in varying degrees in the individual gminas and rural areas. On the path to activating and undertaking practical actions, it was necessary to overcome many difficulties resulting from the complicated sociopolitical situation and economic crisis of the past several years in Poland, including its rural areas. Above all this influence is directed toward furthering the political integration of the rural communities and shaping people's civic attitudes to obtain wide support for PRON's [Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth] ideas, to strengthen the convictions concerning the durability and unshakability of the joint agricultural policy of the PZPR and ZSL and the need to implement consistently the economic reform as well as the activation of territorial, agricultural and cooperative self-governments. The basis of this influence was and remains the conviction that effective development of agriculture and the rural areas can be executed only via the joint, objective and creative work of the PZPR and the ZSL as well as of the entire rural population, along with an increased flow of industrial production centers created by the working class. This is the gist of the worker-peasant alliance.

Among the 2.341 million PZPR members and candidates, over 600,000 are organized in the rural areas, of which 220,000 are private farmers and farmers belonging to RSPs [agricultural production cooperative].¹ The ZSL has a

1. "Information Concerning PZPR Activity in 1982," a publication of the PZPR Central Committee Information Department.

total of 465,000 members, of which 386,000 belong to rural circles; this includes 329,000 private farmers and farmers belonging to RSPs. The political vanguard of Poland's rural areas consist of 1 million people, including 550,000 farmers who through their individual example, exemplary management of farms and the influence they exert in their communities should pave the way toward activating social life and improving production, influencing overall interpersonal relationships and developing the methods and means for realizing the economic, educational and cultural tasks within a community's concrete conditions.

However, much remains to be done in the area of activating people's councils and their commissions as well as the socio-trade union organizations for farmers, in the area of improving the level of work of the lowest state and economic administration cells, and in the area of obtaining greater involvement of rural people in resolving local problems and improving the level of management and obtaining greater production results by farmers, along with the proper distribution and use of production resources in the gminas and rural areas, especially since these resources are modest and do not satisfy many needs. PZPR and ZSL members, organizations and echelons will realize the responsible tasks in a more peaceful sociopolitical atmosphere along with the first signs of better supplies of industrial production goods for agriculture. No doubt this will facilitate political work in the rural communities.

Of great significance is the fact that over the past years interparty cooperation has been more active and systematic. This shows that the objective difficulties brought the cells of the political parties and their activists closer together; the partners value one another more greatly because the need for joint action has increased. This cooperation occurs in various forms--from the everyday working contacts between the administrations of ZSL circles and the executive boards of PZPR POP [basic party organization] by means of commissions on cooperation, joint meetings and councils, to the joint meetings of primary cells and joint plenums of the echelons.

The continuing political-organizational strengthening of PZPR and ZSL primary cells and local echelons, the development of partnerlike cooperation and the very obvious, factually concrete and useful activities to further the interests of agriculture and the rural areas will strengthen the authority of the party and the ZSL in the rural communities and create an opportunity to expand further the rural memberships of the PZPR and ZSL.

ZSL's Organizational Status

The development of the socioeconomic and political situation in Poland subjected the ZSL to a serious trial. The 8th ZSL Congress occurred under conditions in which it took under consideration the proper desires of ZSL members to eliminate the deformations in agricultural policy, in rural social life and in the functioning of the ZSL itself and to deal with the attempts of irresponsible people to undermine the agricultural policy, ZSL's program principles and ZSL's partnership with the PZPR, and even the attempts to totally negate the achievements of the country and its rural areas during

39 years of the people's rule. These attempts were often inspired from without by enemies of centralism that hid behind a screen of different demagogic slogans. Because of their pressure, some parts of the ZSL deviated ideologically and politically, and organizational discipline was weakened.

It also should be stated that during this difficult period the vast majority of activists and primary groups of peasants--ZSL members--maintained the proper posture, not allowing themselves to be provoked into political rashness, cared about improving ZSL's position in the political life of the state, and strived to achieve social peace which is highly valued by the rural populace and to seek solutions to the complicated economic problems. The good of the state and nation as well as honest work have always been the highest values of ZSL members.

During all of 1981, information about ZSL's ideological-political achievements and about the creation--jointly with the PZPR--of permanent foundations for the development of agriculture and food production was disseminated among its members. These activities, especially the development of a draft of ZSL's basic documents: "Ideological Declaration," "Political Program," and the "Statute" constituted the practical realization of the initiatives and aspirations of the vast majority of ZSL members. In that way, progress was achieved in the ideological-political integration of activists and members vis-a-vis ZSL's program as well as their involvement in activities to mitigate the intensifying political and socioeconomic crisis.

The declaration of martial law was accepted by the vast majority of ZSL's members and activists with understanding; it was considered as thwarting the adventurous aims of extreme antisocialist groups and centers. ZSL members supported WRON's [Military Council for National Salvation] desire to restore social peace, to lead the country out of the deep economic crisis and to continue the democratization and renewal of social life based on the PRL [Polish People's Republic] Constitution. Nonetheless much time was needed to alleviate the many doubts troubling some ZSL members and activists, especially to overcome attitudes of passivity and waiting for events to develop as well as to convince people of the need and desirability of active participation.

Territorial ZSL echelons adapted their activities to martial law conditions relatively quickly. Despite many difficulties and limitations, the work of voivodship, gmina and coordinating committees did not deviate from statutory requirements. This activity was characterized by deliberations on and accurate examinations of the subject themes and passed resolutions as well as the great initiative and competence in resolving social and economic problems that were often complicated.

The Seventh Plenum of the NK ZSL (31 March 1982) was of decisive significance in intensifying ideological-propaganda and political-organizational activities. It established ambitious tasks resulting from ZSL's function in the triparty and coalition system of political rule of our people's state, and it designated ways to achieve ideological-political unity among rank and file

members, to improve the efficiency of echelon operations and to increase the activity of ZSL circles in their communities.

As much as it was possible to initiate the activities of gmina and coordinating echelons in a systematic way, the activity of ZSL circle operations weakened in 1982. In the first quarter of last year, only a small number of circle meetings were held, and it was till after the Seventh NK Plenum and in the framework of preparations for the People's Holiday that much greater activity took place in the ZSL's basic cells. However, the turning point and intensification of work for a large number of ZSL circles occurred only in the fall of last year after the passage of the NK Presidium resolutions regarding conducting reports-elections meetings, executing preparatory acts and greater contact of ZSL circles with the voivodship and gmina aktiws. The NK Presidium resolution regarding conducting reports-elections meetings by circles resulted directly from the implementation of the resolution of the Eight NK Plenum concerning transferring the burden of echelon work to rural ZSL circles.

As a result on 1982 ZSL circles started operating on average after four general meetings (in 1981--after six meetings) along with much differentiation and relatively less frequency which was the result of the weakened interest of many members in sociopolitical work. To a lesser degree, the average number of meetings of ZSL circle administrations decreased during the year (from 7 to 5). Parallel sections of circles became passive and it is difficult to uncover any concrete results of their work. Undoubtedly, the greatest shortcomings of ZSL operations last year were the insufficient contacts with the rural communities and the weak activity of ZSL circles.

The reports-elections meetings of the ZSL circles were completed in mid-April of this year. Much difficulty was encountered during the first phase which made it necessary to reconvene some of the meetings (23.4 percent) in the following terms. The political atmosphere at the meetings improved significantly after the joint PZPR Central Committee and NK ZSL Plenum; the discussions became more objective and creative and the accepted plans of operation can be characterized as being specific. The NK Presidium on 17 February 1983 passed a resolution to continue the campaign and to conduct gmina and coordinating congresses during the first half of this year.

In the last period, the ZSL--involved in the renewal porcess and at the same time in the political and social stabilization process, and still under political pressure and experiencing a certain weakening in the activity of the primary cells--not only did not incur a more serious loss of members but most voivodship organizations managed a small increase in memberships. However, the number of newly secured members--12,142 in 1981, 12,203 in 1982 and 8,417 in the first quarter of this year--did not balance out the natural and organizational declines. During the 27-month period from 1 January 1981 to 31 March 1983, the membership decreased effectively by 13,527. The greatest decline occurred in 1981--15,573 members (980 in 1982). The latest growth in membership results mainly from the activities of the circles and the increased authority of ZSL gmina committees.

It is not difficult to confirm the thesis that the better-operating circles attract new members more easily, and new ZSL cells are organized in neighboring rural areas. Thus one must draw the proper conclusion from the fact that over 70 percent of ZSL's circles did not induct a single new member in 1982. Meanwhile, in 1982 four voivodships managed to limit the percentage of such circles (Elblag--28.2 percent, Plock--40.9 percent, Bydgoszcz--42.5 percent and Legnica--45.0 percent) and thus improvements in organizational development can be achieved.

Certain membership losses occur naturally and should be treated as such, but they can and should be compensated for with the induction of new people. Maintaining ZSL's level of membership can be ensured only if 25,000-30,000 new members are inducted annually, in the meantime the results of the last 2 years show that these levels are not being achieved.

On 31 March 1983 the socio-occupational structure of ZSL's membership was as follows:

peasants	329,585 (70.9 percent)
knowledge workers	97,798 (21.0 percent)
workers	32,060 (6.8 percent)
artisans	4,486 (1.0 percent)
students	557 (0.1 percent)
trade school students	635 (0.2 percent)
total	465,121 (100 percent)

The 119,389 women represented 25.7 percent of ZSL's membership. The ten voivodship organizations having the highest percentage of women members (over 30 percent) are: Katowice (38.8 percent), Opole (33.7 percent), Slupsk (31.3 percent), Elblag (30.5 percent), Nowy Sacz (30.2 percent), Jelenia Gora (34.8 percent), Krosno (31.4 percent), Olsztyn (30.7 percent), Szczecin (30.4 percent) and Koszalin 30.1 percent). Among ZSL's women members, 54.3 percent are farmers.

The vast majority of ZSL's members are middle-aged, which is beneficial if one considers the ages of the overall rural population. In the rural areas, for people 20 years or older. In the meantime the corresponding percentages among ZSL members are 60.5 percent and 22.8 percent. However, the percentage of ZSL members who are less than 29 years (16.7 percent) is smaller than the percentage of rural people in this same age group (25.4 percent).

The number of ZSL members who are retirees or pensioners increased rapidly from 77,000 over 2 years ago (at that time 16.1 percent of total membership) to 94,000 at the end of 1982 (20.4 percent). Retirees and pensioners constitute over 30 percent of the total membership in three voivodships (Walbrzych--35.6 percent, Pila--31.2 percent and Katowice--30.1 percent), and over 25 percent in seven voivodships (Bila Podlaska, Bielsko, Gorzow, Jelenia Gora, Torun and Zielona Gora). This affects an organization's operations. This phenomenon is integrally linked with the naturally arising age groupings occurring in ZSL's membership ranks. The concern here is not the number of pensioners and retirees, but above all that the shift in age groupings is not sufficiently compensated by inducting young people into ZSL's ranks.

As a result, the number of people in the less than 29-year-old bracket decreased. During the 27-month period this group diminished from 96,000 (20.1 percent of the membership) to 78,000 (16.7 percent). There is cause for a little optimism in this year's first quarter in which 1,237 members were inducted who were less than 29 years old after a long period of stagnation. Now the problem is to maintain and expand this good trend, most of all by collaborating with youth organizations. We should strive to activate the 17,046 young ZSL members organized within the Rural Youth Union and the 14,718 in the Polish Union of Socialist Youth, as well as to increase their numbers in the youth organizations operating in the rural communities.

ZSL members having better training and professional preparation are increasing systematically. In the past 2 years, the number of members having higher educations increased by 1,500, and the number of members having secondary education increased by 1,800. Presently ZSL has 21,900 members having higher educations (4.7 percent of the total membership), including 9,700 with higher agricultural education; 7,200 members with incomplete higher educations (1.9 percent); 86,100 with secondary education (18.6 percent), including 33,700 with secondary agricultural education; and 139,700 members having postprimary professional training (31.9 percent).

Farmers Enrolled in ZSL

This ZSL has many wise farmers in its ranks who know their occupation well and conduct their farming in an exemplary manner, discharging their obligations to society and the state. Through their honest work, high production output, civic attitude and social activity, many of them provide a good example to their neighbors.

Among ZSL's 259,570 active farmers, 219,580 (84.6 percent) are private farmers, 34,558 (13.3 percent) are members of their families working on their farms, and 5,432 (2.1 percent) are members of agricultural production cooperatives. Of the total number of ZSL members who are farmers, 25,549 (9.8 percent) are worker-peasants and 4,485 (1.7 percent) are members of their families, who in practice often do the farming.

During the last 2 years, the number of ZSL members who are farmers decreased significantly by 31,000, and the number of private farmers decreased by almost 30,000. This results from many older farmers retiring and transferring their farms to heirs who for the most part are not ZSL members. The only proper way to stop this unfavorable process is for ZSL's echelons and cells to be more aggressive in winning over young people.

ZSL members living and working in the rural areas constitute 4.2 percent of the production-age rural areas constitute 4.2 percent of the production-age rural population, and ZSL's farmer members farm 8 percent of all the farms. On average, one out of 12 private farmers in Poland is a ZSL member, but there are significant differences among the voivodship in this regard. The most favorable in this regard is Leszno Voivodship where one out of six private farmers is a ZSL member, as well as in Elblag, Bydgoszcz and Olsztyn voivodships where the ratio is one out of seven.

Farmers who are ZSL members farm larger farms than the national average. Farms that are 5-10 ha represent 25.6 percent of Poland's total farms, and farms larger than 10 ha represent 15.1 percent of the total, but for ZSL members these indexes are 34.1 percent and 21.1 percent respectively.³

In comparison with the total number of farmers, the professional training of ZSL's farmers compares quite favorably. Among ZSL's farmers, 1,139 have higher educations and 20,828 have secondary educations. Thus 6.9 percent of ZSL's farmers have higher or secondary educations, and 116,948 (35.7 percent) have basic professional education. Together, 139,485 (42.6 percent) of ZSL's farmers have postsecondary educations, primarily agricultural.

The qualifications achieved by ZSL's farmers do not completely satisfy the ZSL, just as the level of training for farmers as a whole is not satisfactory. The task facing the food production sector increasingly requires people who are professional, highly qualified, who have initiative and introduce modern farming methods, who are apt to take rational risks, who are continuously improving their knowledge and who at the same time can coexist and collaborate with their communities. The resolution of the joint PZPR Central Committee and NK ZSL Plenum in January of this year emphasized the importance of this problem.

Poland has 2,212 RSPs containing 160,000 members and 20,000 workers. The RSPs possess 4 percent of the arable land and last year supplied over 12 percent of Poland's total production of grain, 11 percent of the cattle and a significant amount of fruits, vegetables and their products. Of RSP's members, 6,668 belong to the ZSL, including 5,432 farmers among which 1,054 are members of board of directors and 306 are chairmen of cooperative.

Peasant Intellectuals

The ZSL, participating in wielding power and feeling jointly responsible for normalizing life in Poland, for rebuilding the national economy and for developing agriculture and the rural areas, values the role of the intellectuals who for the most part arose from the peasant class and are emotionally and professionally linked to it..

Presently, the ZSL membership includes 75,509 professionally active white-collar workers among which a high percentage (46.4 percent) are women. The technical-agricultural intellectuals are the largest professionally active group among white-collar workers (23,700) followed by the teachers (13,700).

In the past 2 years, the number of white-collar workers within the ZSL has stabilized, however, the 1,500 decrease in the number of professionally active teachers is cause for concern. Efforts must be made to rebuild ZSL's influence among working teachers in the various types of schools and gmina centers--to become interested in their problems and to help them.

3. ROCZNIK STATYSTYCZNY 1982, table 8 (339), p 235

The peasant intelligentsia is not homogeneous with regard to education, place of work, social or professional position. Among all the intellectuals (the professionally active and retirees), 20,700 (21.2 percent) have higher education, 8,600 (8.8 percent) have some higher education and 62,300 (63.9 percent) have secondary education.

About 45.5 percent of the white-collar workers who are ZSL members belong to ZSL rural circles and 55.5 percent belong to city circles. In the ZSL, rural cooperative, state administration and rural services workers as well as teachers are the most numerous; less represented are health service, culture and legal workers as well as journalists and representatives of other specialities.

Considering the concentration in the voivodship cities and the larger rural centers of white-collar workers who are ZSL members and the dispersal of the remaining 2,100 members in ZSL's gmina and city-gmina cells, and at the time the increasing demands placed on the ZSL, especially the management cadres, it is not difficult to observe that there is a shortage of highly-qualified intellectuals in the gmina and even in some voivodship organizations of the ZSL.

At the same time, the intelligentsia is the foundation for the group of lecturers on whom the entire system of massive ideological-educational work in the ZSL is based, especially political education. Specialists in various areas play an important role in the problem commissions of ZSL's committees at all levels. ZSL's rural cells value specialists and the possibility of exchanging views concerning problems bothering the community.

The ability of ZSL's organization to properly execute the functions resulting from the obligation to make joint decisions concerning the development of the gminas and voivodships and to truly participate jointly in resolving social and economic problems will depend to a great extent on the initiative and activity of ZSL's echelons, as well as on the ZSL members working in management positions in the various institutions who in practice are representatives of the intelligentsia group.

This ZSL has made significant progress in its cadre policy, allowing ZSL members to assume additional management functions and positions in representative organs and in various social, economic and cooperative institutions and organizations. Nonetheless there is no lack of examples of difficulties that ZSL committees encounter resulting from the lack of proper cadres for designated management positions. This state of affairs can be improved by greater concern for ZSL members to improve their qualifications by taking energetic steps to enroll in ZSL's ranks intellectuals having various specialists, especially those who come from rural areas and continue to be linked with them.

Increasing ZSL's organizational activity in the higher schools remains an important matter. Seven hundred and eighteen academic workers (professors, docents, lecturers, aides and assistants) and 204 administrative workers

belong to ZSL's academic circles, but only 574 students are members. It is essential to reach out to rural youth studying in the higher schools and to enroll them in ZSL's ranks.

ZSL's Echelons and Circles

On 31 March 1983, the ZSL had 29,903 circles, including 26,947 rural circles (90.1 percent), 2,875 city circles (9.6 percent) and 81 academic circles (0.3 percent). The rural circles operate in 69.6 percent of the [? solecki] rural areas in Poland and in over 80 percent of the rural areas in 20 voivodships. But in four voivodships the network of circles encompass less than 50 percent of the rural areas (Ciechanow, Lozma, Ostroleka and Siedlce). During the 27-month period the number of circles increased by 303, including 92 rural circles, 212 city circles and 9 academic circles.

The large number of rural circles, in which 83.5 percent of the members are enrolled, create opportunities for the ZSL to influence the rural communities. The membership make-up of ZSL's rural circles, the most important component being the peasant-producers, which also includes almost one-half of the peasant intellectuals, is also an advantage. ZSL's rural organizations have the qualifications to expand political work to integrate the communities and activate social life as well as to implement progress and achieve increased agricultural production.

Among the rural cells there are 2,470 ZSL circles operating in association with gmina institutions and agencies, an increase of 637 in over 2 years, including the following that are associated with gmina and city-gmina administrative offices: 618 circles, 720 GS "Sch" [Peasant Mutual Aid Rural Commune Cooperatives], 485 Skrs [Agricultural Circle Cooperatives], 188 dairy cooperatives, 47 horticultural-apiary cooperatives, 159 cooperative banks and 92 at PGRs [State Farms] and 231 at various types of schools located in the rural areas. A total of over 35,000 members are organized in these basic cells (an increase of 9,000 over a 2-year period). Circles operating in association with these gmina institutions are able to influence directly the improvement of the quality of work done by these agencies and to shape properly the relationship of their workers with citizen-clients. At the same time, collaborating with gmina ZSL echelons and maintaining links with rural circles in the framework of GKs [Gmina Committees] are important functions of these circles and members.

Among city primary cells there are 1,859 ZSL circles associated with institutions and organization administrations as well as 1,016 comprehensive and communal circles. City circles encompass 16.2 percent of all members in the voivodship cities and larger urban centers. They operate in association with all voivodship administrative offices, WZRs, KiORs, Sch WZRSs [Peasant Mutual Aid Collective Farms] and 34 dairy WZSs, 30 horticultural-apiary WZSs and 27 BGZs voivodship departments. ZSL cells operating in association with institutions and organization administrations as well as the communal circles, although to a lesser degree, help to raise the efficiency of functioning of the administrative offices and institutions by directly submitting recommendations and comments to ZSL committees and directors

of agencies; they also are a valuable source of information for ZSL WKs [Voivodship Committee] and GKs.

The small decrease in the number of members along with a certain increase in the number of basic cells resulted in a lack of progress in strengthening organizationally the small ZSL circles whose influence in many cases is unsatisfactory, especially in the large rural communities. There are 11,727 ZSL circles (39.3 percent of the total) with 10 members or less, primarily in the voivodships of Biala Podlaska, Bialystok, Chelm, Ciechanow, Kielce, Mstroleka and Siedlce.

Basic-level echelons encompass all of Poland's basic administrative units. Last year 50 new basic-level echelons were formed, among which 40 were formed on the basis of new administrative units. Currently there are a total of 2,252 basic echelons in operation, including 1,454 gmina committees, 655 city-gmina committees, 111 city committees, 16 city district committees, 7 plant committees and 9 school committees.

The number of circles versus the basic echelons is as follows: less than 5 circles--137 basic echelons (6.1 percent), from 5 to 10 circles--760 (33.7 percent), from 11 to 15 circles--698 (31.0 percent) and over 15 circles--657 (29.2 percent). Thirty basic echelons (1.3 percent) have less than 50 members, 268 (11.9 percent)--from 50 to 100 members, 941 (41.8 percent)--from 101 to 200 members, 649 (28.8 percent)--from 201 to 300 members and 364 (16.2 percent)--over 300 members.

As a result of efforts made by NK's directorate, 450 ZSL gmina secretary positions have been obtained since 1 January 1982. Currently the ZSL controls 1,250 gmina committee (gmina-city) secretary positions and 501 ZSL voivodship committee territorial instructor positions. All in all 2,252 ZSL basic echelons are served in a permanent and systematic way by 1,751 territorial workers. The control of organization premises by 1,923 ZSL basic echelons, including 1,499 separate premises and 424 shared with other agencies and institutions, also create better working conditions.

In analyzing ZSL's organizational status and in attempting to determine the prospects for its development, one must consider above all that the organization and its prospects will always depend on the activities of the circles and the competence of the echelons in strengthening the political-educational and socioeconomic activities as well as on the authority of the territorial cells. But the socioprofessional make-up of ZSL's membership, of which 70.9 percent are farmers, the organizing of 83.5 percent of all the members in rural cells, and the existence of 90.1 percent of the rural circles in the organization structure are basic factors defining ZSL's functions and determining its directions of activities in the triparty and coalition system of the political governance of our socialist state.

11899

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Trade Unions in Chemical Industry

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 25 Aug 83 pp 1,2

[Article by M. Ksiazek: "Prior to the Meeting in Katowice: Olsztyn Consultations of Unionists From 17 Plants of the STOMIL Rubber Industry Works"]

[Text] /(Own information.) On Tuesday, 23 [Aug 83] representatives of 17 plants of the STOMIL Rubber Industry Works met in Olsztyn. The plants represented were, among others, those in Debica, Krakow, Poznan, Grudziadz and Lodz. The organizers and at the same time hosts of the meeting were unionists from the Tire Plant in Olsztyn (OZOS). The main purpose of the session was to draft joint recommendations for the conference of founding members of the Federation of the Trade Unions of Chemical Industry Employees, which will be held on 30 August in Katowice with the participation of the minister of chemical and light industry./ [printed in boldface]

During Tuesday's meeting the discussion touched nearly upon every matter relating to the role and tasks of trade unions in general and those of chemical industry in particular. Mention was made of the funds and resources for trade union activities, methods of work of individual trade-union boards, the recruitment of supporters and new members, and the need to enhance the authority of trade unions in work establishments.

Special approbation was gained by the comments of Marek Makarski of the Debica STOMIL, who warned the representatives of trade unions against attending to the distribution of vegetables and potatoes. "For this purpose there are social services cells in the plants, whereas we should attend to more important matters." This does not mean at all that unionists know in advance which matters are more important--that is not easy to decide. But they cannot scatter their efforts and thus overlook the principal purposes of their activity.

Zdzislaw Wnuk of Poznan and several other discussants observed in this connection that under the current management--self-government--trade unions system the role of trade unions reduces chiefly to opining on the actions of enterprise management, which provides no broad field of action for the unions. Jan Bestek of OZOS commented in this connection that the decree on trade unions should eventually be revised, but unionists should cooperate with management, upon proper division of roles within the plant.

As stated earlier, however, the principal purpose of the meeting was to draft a program for improving working conditions in rubber-industry plants. The unionists paid special attention to the safety of labor of persons working under conditions harmful to health. The representative from Krakow, comparing the work of the miner and the "rubber man," stated that accidents happen now and then in mines whereas "rubber" workers are constantly exposed to noxious fumes released during production.

In this connection, at the meeting with the minister the principal demands will be for improvements in this field. In addition, claims will be presented concerning: housing priorities for the plants' employees (this concerns retaining skilled workers by offering them housing preferences); additional and preventive-health leaves without reimbursing employees (in certain occupations); extra pay for work seniority after 10 years of work, to be increased by 1 percent with each additional year; raising the coal allowance of in-kind coal allotment to 3.5 tons a year; granting tax relief on all production investments to rubber-industry enterprises; and improving the quality of work clothing.

On 30 August all these matters will be reported to the minister of chemical and light industry in Katowice, and the newly created federation is to guarantee that they will be included in the future Charter of the Chemical Worker.

Poll on New Union Activities

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 25 Aug 83 pp 1,7

[Interviews with trade union chairmen by (DAK): "Our Work is Not Stereotyped, Trade Union Activists Declare: Results of a Poll Taken by 'EXPRESS'; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in the original source]

[Text] The new trade unions were founded only several months ago, and they represent the fundamental interests of employees vis a vis the management. This is their most important function. But sometimes they also handle atypical matters that usually are difficult and painful to individuals. /What matters of this kind did you succeed in resolving? We asked this question of unionists in several Warsaw work establishments./ Below are their answers:

Antoni Czerwinski, chairman of the trade union at the Plants imienia Warynski, said: "Our power hydraulics department employs a group of blind people. Obviously, they find it more difficult to cope with problems of everyday life. Thus the union began to care for them. We saw to it that their apartments were repaired, we provide them with potatoes for the winter and, as the need arises, with financial support.

"We provide similar assistance to pensioners. The house of an 82 years old former employee was dilapidated: it became repaired by the plant repair team. The same brigade also rebuilt an oven in the home of a 90 years old female pensioner.

"We also started to care for the family of one employee who has eight children. There are of course other cases of this kind that require of the union special

sensitivity to particular situations in which individuals may find themselves. We attempt to identify and resolve them insofar as possible."

Zdzislaw Los, chairman of the trade union at the Warszawa Iron and Steel Plant, declared: "An employee lost his health and there was a problem with finding for him a suitable and less dangerous occupation that would at the same time provide him with a similar level of earnings. What the management found difficult we found resolvable. We found for him such an occupation, so that his wages were reduced by [only]...28 zlotys.

/"We intervened successfully to restore the job of a female fellow worker who had returned to the plant following a child-upbringing leave. We defended an employee who was unjustly accused of theft....I could mention other instances in which we defended individuals, but mention also must be made of matters that are important to a considerable part of the workforce, if not to the entire workforce."/

"We negotiated doubling to 2,296 from 1,127 the number of employees eligible for preventive health leaves; succeeded in increasing to 60 from 50 percent the plant's subsidy for employees' monthly commuter tickets; and succeeded in restoring in-kind coal allowances for employees living outside the boundaries of Warsaw."

Tadeusz Kurowski, chairman of the trade union at the Plants imienia 22 July, said: "At our plant-sponsored residential building the janitor's apartment became vacant. We thought that it could be utilized to the benefit of both the residents and some one of the employees lacking housing. We selected a typical employee with 10 years of work seniority who had, together with his wife and children, been living in some rented room outside Warsaw. He was assigned that apartment and, together with his wife, does the janitor's duties in a manner satisfactory to the tenants. Once he receives a cooperative apartment (for which he has registered), we will see to it that the janitor's apartment be assigned to the next employee. Thus it will be, as it were, a rotated apartment.

/"Another matter to which we attended was placing a retired female employee of our plant in a Social Care Home."/

Zbigniew Sarnowski, union chairman at the Plants imienia Rose Luxembourg, said: "We intervened in behalf of a female co-worker who was reprimanded for being slow to provide a medical release chit and absenting herself from work for a day not formally included in that release, which was undoubtedly linked to her illness. We believed that in that particular situation the reprimand was uncalled for. It was supplanted with an admonition.

"A dramatic request for help was made to us by a female co-worker: her husband was drinking up his wages, taking her money and engaging in adventures. We contacted the husband's work establishment and talked repeatedly with him personally. The final result was that he agreed to let his wife collect his pay, and agreed to submit to treatment as well. The way it is told, the matter sounds easy, but let me assure you that it was not easy.

"We got a promise from the chief of the Praga-South District that he will assign a substitute apartment to our retired employee, an ex-serviceman from Lenino, who lives in a dilapidated house in Radosc.

/"A broader accomplishment that we scored was getting--jointly with the Plants imienia Swierczewski and imienia Warynski--a building lot for erecting plant-sponsored housing./"

Anna Malinowska, chairperson of the trade Union at the CORA Clothing Plants (ZPO), said: "We try to help women who do not receive child-support alimony from their ex-husbands. We provide them with legal assistance in obtaining the arrears in alimony, on the one hand, and with material assistance on the other. We took care of a female co-worker during difficult moment of a paternity suit. In addition, we handle quite a few housing problems. In a couple of dramatic instances we succeeded in finding housing for the most needy in the plant-sponsored apartment building. This does not, of course, solve the housing problems of the workforce as a whole, but in individual instances we make the right choices as to who should be helped first.

Federations, Incentives for Unionism

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 25 Aug 83 p 3

[Articles by (wf), Jerzy Draganik and (nik) under the rubric: "Trade Union News"]

"Not every winner's palm bears coconuts"
(Stanislaw Jerzy Lec)

[Article by (wf): "Federation or National Union?"]

[Text] Trade-union organizations which intend to set up supra-plant structures may choose between two forms: federation or a national union. The decision is not easy and it moreover has to allow for the specific situation of a given enterprise. So far, federations have most supporters. Below we present the arguments of representatives of the trade unions which already have made up their mind.

The Concept of a National Trade Union is Supported by

Wladyslaw Nycz, chairman of the Trade Union of Printers at the Rzeszow Graphics Works, who argues:

Typographical employees are a relatively small occupational group and hence they can be strong only through unity. A national union is favored not only by the 110-year tradition of the printers' association into a class trade union. We need a strong union that would represent all those working in the printing trades regardless of what ministry or establishment they work for. The effectiveness of the defense of our rights and concern for working conditions should not hinge on the relative wealth of the employer. Actually, however, this dependence does exist.

Not everyone had at first agreed to the [national] union; at first some voted for the federation. After discussion, however, the decision was unanimous. We do not fear that plant organizations will lose their independence to the national union, because it is we ourselves who are discussing its statute. Every plant organization is assured of being represented in the national assembly, and allowance will also be made for the size of the membership of individual plant organizations.

The preparations to establish the Trade Union of PRL Typographical Industry Employees began last April. The June meeting of the founding committee, representing 48 unions from typographical enterprises and the scientific-technical base of the typographical industry, adopted a draft statute. We expect that the first general founding meeting will be held in December of this year.

The Concept of a Federation is Supported by

Julian Jablonski, chairman of the Trade Union of Employees of the PGR [State Farm] Combine in Rzeszow, who argues:

We chose in favor of a federation, because preserving our legal entity is important to us. We feel independent and would not want any recurrence of a situation in which someone else would make decisions for our union.

We considered which to choose, a federation or a national union, last April. Most of the unions were in favor of the federation. Of the 1,311 unions which had been registered as of mid-July at enterprises of the ministry of agriculture and food management, 761 declared their intent to join the federation. We expect joint representation of the unions before the authorities of the Ministry of Agriculture once the federation is established.

Thus, the federation will be numerically big. To streamline its activities, branch sections will be set up to deal separately with: the Agricultural Cooperative Circles (SKR), the PGR, technical services to agriculture, livestock enterprises, and turnover.

We realize that the situation will change once the law prescribing a minimum of 50 members for existing trade unions becomes effective. In the agricultural enterprises of our regions there also are trade unions with a membership below that minimum. They will thus have to either expand their membership or merge into larger unions.

What Does Belonging to a Trade Union Mean? [article by Jerzy Draganik]

This question is often being asked by employees in response to agitation drives by activists of the renascent trade-union movement. For a predominant part of non-union members consists of people who remember the bad experiences

of the recent years and thus are wary toward the changes taking place in the unions.

An attempt to answer this simple question requires a broader commentary.

Rights and duties are closely linked to the degree of intra-union democracy, which in its turn depends on democracy within the state. That intra-union democracy is determined by the unionists themselves--primarily in their statute, apart from a few exceptions directly ensuing from the decree. The possibility of self-governing determination of the scope and nature of rights and duties is unlimited, on condition that it does not conflict with the law and the principles of social coexistence.

Of basic importance is /the right to establish and associate in trade unions./ This is one of the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution. The right to establish trade unions belongs exclusively to persons having the legal status of employees. It is subject solely to legal restrictions relating to the nature of work establishment and employment or position held. It is worth noting that the formation of a trade union requires the adoption of an appropriate resolution by the founding members, the selection of a founding committee and the voting of a statute. The right to associate implies the possibility of voluntary enrollment in the trade union active in one's workplace, the right to participate in union activities, the possibility of retaining membership in the event of cessation of occupational activity (retirement, pensioning off or temporary unemployment) and the possibility of resigning from the union at any time without having to divulge the motives for such a decision.

Any member has the /right to participate in the meetings of all organizational elements and cells of the union/--and in this way he co-participates in drafting the program and the ongoing activities of his organization.

Of special importance also, as ensuing from the statute, is /the active and passive right of any member to be elected/ to the post of a union officer, as well as the right to recall individual board members or the entire board and to evaluate the activities of union officers and express critical opinions.

From the fundamental goal of the trade-union movement--namely, the representation and protection of collective and individual interests of employees--ensues the member's /right to legal protection by the union/. It is reflected in, among other things, the legal empowering of the trade-union organization to protect the employee's labor relationship, assure safe and hygienic working conditions, protect employee rights and interests relating to wages, distinctions and promotions, apply disciplinary penalties and meet social and cultural needs. In exercising social control over adherence to the provisions of the labor law code, the union is empowered to mediate and intervene in individual disputes between employee and employer, and it also is obligated to provide employees with free legal counseling in pursuing justified claims.

/The possibility of benefiting from the union's social services and material assistance as well as from the cultural, sports and other facilities/ available to the union, is a statutory right. The union should primarily meet

those needs of its members that are not financed with the funds of the work establishment.

This cursory review--given the limitations of space-- of basic rights points to the role which the union statute--that basic intra-union document--plays in correctly determining the relationship between the trade-union organization as a whole and its individual members. I recommend above all reading the statute to persons awaiting an answer to the question posed at the outset.

The decision to join a trade union also implies accepting the duty of performing certain obligations toward the union as a whole and toward its officers and one's fellow workers. First of all, mention should be made of the /obligation of adhering to the provisions of the statute and the resolutions of union officers/. This is a basic prerequisite for participation in trade-union life. To be sure, the unions associate employees regardless of their political conviction, outlook or religious persuasion, but as an organization they declare their adherence to the Constitutional principles of socio-political life. Thereby also, this declaration, contained in the statute and the decree, obligates every union member.

Next to be emphasized is the /obligation of active participation in implementing the union's goals and tasks/. It is bad when a union's activities reduce solely to the activities of its board.

To be sure, the union does not require of its candidate members any special character traits, clean living, a clean record, etc., but their /attitude toward the work community, adherence to discipline and solidarity with as well as good intentions toward fellow workers/ are not unimportant. The duty of such behavior generally is dictated by the principles of coexistence within the work community. By shaping employee attitudes the trade union implements an essential educational function from the social standpoint and becomes a school of civic education.

A Reminder About Trade-Union Law [article by (nik)]

/What are trade-union assets and what principles govern their management?/

Pursuant to the statute, a union's activities are plied on the basis of a plan of income and expenditures, voted upon for the period of a year at a general membership meeting. Thus, financial management is based on a properly prepared and approved budget. The principal source of income is membership dues. In addition, union assets may be formed from subsidies, donations and income from various kinds of organized entertainment and other statutory activities.

The newly formed trade unions are authorized to take over the assets of the former trade union-organizations--their funds and movable and immovable property--before year end.

/Trade-union assets should be primarily spent on protecting the rights and interests of union members and only afterward on meeting those social, cultural and educational needs of members that cannot be financed from the funds of work establishments, e.g. from the social services fund or the housing fund./ The size of expenditures on individual purposes depends on particular

possibilities and needs as well as on income, which chiefly depends on size of membership. The draft budget for a given calendar year is first prepared by the founding committee and then by the union board. This draft has to be opined upon by the auditing commission. The budget is implemented on the basis of the collegial principle of the disposal of funds, which should be reflected in appropriate resolutions by the board or its presidium. All payments and financial operations may be carried out only on the basis of documents and figures verified and approved by the chairman and the treasurer and without violating generally obligatory financial regulations. At least once a year the board submits a report on financial status and assets to the general membership meeting.

Opole Province Union Views

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 25 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by L. Gnot: "Meeting With Opole Unionists: Small Workforces, Big Problems"]

[Text] Public opinion is more familiar with the situation in large work communities from accounts in the press, radio and television. This is decided by the scale of the problems and the size of workforces and trade-union organizations. But what about the smaller work communities? How do trade-unions develop there? what are they doing there and how do they develop their activities there?

These questions are far from secondary. When taken together, the small and medium-sized plants account for a considerable human and production potential. Moreover, together with the service establishments and institutions of various types, they represent the infrastructure of the life and economic activity of the entire region.

An occasion for finding at least partial answers to these questions was afforded by the meeting between local authorities and the activists of the renascent trade-union movement in Opole Lubelskie. The meeting was hosted by the Presidium of the City-Gmina [parish] People's Council, and the guests were several dozen representatives of trade-union organizations from Opole and the gmina.

A Small City....

with a population of barely 6,000. Opole Lubelskie is the seat of an important Vistula River region with developed farming, orchardry, gardening and sugar beet and tobacco growing. Hence servicing all these activities is of great economic and social importance. In addition, the plants and institutions of Opole employ a large proportion of persons commuting from its entire environs.

This applies to the aged sugar mill, which is exactly 100 years old but which operates at a very high level, as well as to the dynamically growing District Dairy Cooperative (OSM), the Service-and-Production Labor Cooperative, and other of the city's institutions. All this affects the specific problems of this community, which were discussed in an extremely practical and specific manner by the chief of the City-Gmina Office. The city's industrial plants,

trade and transport are linked to agriculture and largely work for it. To be sure, this kind of company-town operations does not always prove advantageous. Thus, until recently, trade was dominated by a single organization--the Gmina Supply and marketing Cooperative. Now, on the initiative of the local authorities, branches of the General Consumers Cooperative from Poniatowa and the Province Trade Enterprise have been established. Since the latter performs its duties extremely well, the shopping area in the new housing project will be assigned to that enterprise.

Housing construction is a painful problem and a difficult matter. The growth rate of investments by the housing cooperative is extremely inadequate--not through its fault, besides. Hence the focus on developing private home building. The Opole sugar factory is sponsoring the construction of housing for its employees.

In a period when funds for capital spending are scarce, emphasis should be placed on adapting old facilities to new ones. This was done successfully by the sugar factory, which converted one of its old facilities to a new inter-plant medical clinic. The place in the nearby Niezdowo was converted to a vocational school. Plans exist for converting currently unutilized structures to production premises for the Production-and-Service Cooperative. Urgent needs in the immediate future include a sludge treatment plant, a new water intake and further expansion of the hospital. Also needed, in a more distant perspective, is the expansion of the fruit and vegetable processing industry with the object of utilizing and developing orchardry along the Vistula River, which at present is beginning to suffer from local overproduction.

Trade Unions

Trade unions have been formed in nearly every large--for Opole conditions--plant. The exceptions here may be the local division of the Polish State Railroads (PKP) and several other institutions. In the plants where the unions have been formed, they succeeded in formulating for themselves specific tasks and met with the proper attitude from the management, so that their development can be considered satisfactory. At the Processing Industry Plants in Kluczkowice, all regular employees have joined the trade-union organization. At the TECHNATRANS Plant [expansion unknown] at present 119 out of the workforce of 230 have joined the trade unions. At the sugar factory, the dairy cooperative and other plants a fairly typical proportion of the work-force belonging to the new trade unions is one-third. In this connection, several aspects are worth noting: the membership of the trade unions is slowly but steadily growing; more and more people are joining them without any agitation or pressures being exerted; this is particularly evident when the trade unions attend to and resolve some important matter. In Kluczkowice the trade unions contributed tangibly to preparing new wage criteria. This also happened in TECHNATRANS, where moreover unionists proposed--and the management accepted--replacing the night shift on work Saturdays with the day shift on Saturdays off. Thus, no productivity was lost and a burden was eliminated. Currently, unionists at that plant have initiated the formation of a team for building single-family homes.

Success is often decided by the authority and activism of individuals. The initiator of the trade-union movement in the health service was a civic-minded physician who is honored and popular in Opole. Thanks to his efforts a trade-

union organization has been formed in that rather refractory health service community.

Other observations: Most trade-union organizations desire to form rapidly superior trade-union structures, but there is also no lack of voices warning against the creation of trade-union bureaucracy. The small local trade-union organizations have no such doubts. Owing to direct experience they are aware that they can count and accomplish more only if they are part of a greater trade-union community. Participation in establishing branch trade-union federations was described with great conviction at the meeting in Opole by representatives of trade-union organizations from the sugar factory, the TECHNATRANS, and the Enterprise of Communal Economy. They also reported that interest in trade unions has grown since the question of the federations was raised.

Matters of Daily Concern

The representatives of various trade-union organizations described many issues of concern to the workforces at their plants. Naturally enough, supply problems were the most urgent issues mentioned. The poor supplies available to in-plant employee stores were mentioned: although the number of such stores is relatively large, the employees of smaller institutions not operating such stores complained that their right to buy merchandise at the stores of artificially connected other plants avails them nothing when it comes to purchasing "better" goods.

One discussant justly commented: /"The quantities of goods distributed cannot exceed those allotted."/ [printed in boldface] But instances that cannot be attributed to crisis-induced shortages also were reported. Thus while the employee store at the dairy cooperative is regularly short of detergents, and the employee store in Kluczkowice is so short of sugar that it cannot sell it for rationing coupons, the month's only shipment of cured meats had to be returned owing to their poor quality and in general Opole envies Poniatowa where delicatessen foods are much better and available in greater quantities, whereas in Opole the fault is that of the persons locally in charge.

Some of the reported shortages point to poor management. Did the complaint about the failure to provide baked goods during the breakfast break at the sugar factory have to wait until it could be voiced at the meeting reported on here? After all, such a matter could and should be settled by the trade union within one day!

On the whole, however, improving the performance of both public and plant stores is certainly, next to housing problems, a major problem to be settled.

The case of the health service was extremely symptomatic. Several speakers assessed it negatively. In their turn, the service's representatives described its various problems and shortages. This was a typical dispute in which both parties are right. Admittedly, health service is not too pampered a field during the current period of the economic reform. But definitely more

should be required of it, too. Such was besides the final conclusion on this matter.

The broad variety of the recommendations and critical comments made, of which some were clarified on the spot by the city-gmina chief but most were accepted for implementation, clearly demonstrates that trade-union activists perceive both the needs and problems of the workforces they represent and the problems of the city as well as of society as a whole, and that they know how to raise these issues.

Thus mention was made of the need to struggle for greater work discipline, for mutual goodwill and honesty among people, for combatting the plagues of parasitism, drunkenness and demoralization of the young--of all that which disturbs and worries every committed citizen and sensitive human being.

Stand Up and Be Counted

The Opole conference was attended by a member of the Province Consultation-Advisory Commission and leading trade-union activist at the Truck Factory (FSC). His speech was an excellent complement to the entire meeting--not just because he spoke justly. His way of viewing matters and his arguments contributed the mood proper to activists growing up in large working-class milieux where awareness and an acute perception of issues combine with militancy and the courage to attack whatever needs change. In addition to clarifying certain issues, he convinced his Opole colleagues that, when one is in the right, one should speak up on trade union matters.

The secretary of the City-Gmina party committee raised the principal issues of the discussion, forming them into a coherent point-by-point program of action--a party program and a trade-union program.

Reciting a section of the resolution of the Central Committee plenum defining the attitude toward trade unions, he stressed with equal force both the independence of trade unions and the commonalty of main goals as well as the ensuing need to support and cooperate with trade unions in their activities. This emphasis very appropriately culminated the Opole trade-union conference.

1386

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ROMANIAN PRESENCE IN MOLDAVIA REAFFIRMED BY NEW RESEARCH

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 25 Jul 83 pp 47-48

[Article by Mircea D. Matei: "The Depth of Historical Research"]

[Text] In the sweep of scientific literature dealing with problems in our national history, there has been - and there still is - a feeling of a lack of certain works in which one could find the desired resolution of the problems of the period during which there was a maturization of the forms of political organization which preceded the creation of the independent Romanian feudal states. Even if the basic aspects dealing with the first 3 centuries of the second millenium are not neglected, the manner in which they are dealt with still does not permit the full use of the data that up until now has been available to historical science and, as a result, the formulation of certain appropriate conclusions. Certainly, thanks to the efforts that have been made in previous years by Romanian archeology into the Middle Ages, the volume of information has increased and, concomitantly with this, there has also been an increase in the possibilities for a more nuanced use of the information contained in written sources. In this context, the appearance of the book* by the historian from Iasi, Victor Spinei, constitutes a very important stage in the more thorough understanding of the history of Moldavia, that ancient Romanian territory, during the period of the 11th to the 14th centuries.

The first and, perhaps, the most important finding which the author of this book makes is that Victor Spinei attempted to bring together into one place the totality of written sources having a direct connection with the inhabitants of the territory between the Carpathians and the Nistru River during the 11th-14th centuries. As these sources originate, in their totality, from outside this area, the references to local historical realities are either unequal in their precision or tributary to the level of their authors' information, a level proven to be decisively influenced by the geographic distance and time which separated the authors from Moldavia and, respectively, from the facts that have been revealed.

* Victor Spinei, "Moldova in secolele XI-XIV" [Moldavia in the 11th to 14th Centuries], Scientific and Encyclopedic Publishing House, Bucharest, 1982. The footnotes to this book will be given in the text.

We must state that in Victor Spinei's book the gathering together into one place of these written sources - including some which, although known, are too little used by Romanian historians - does not merely constitute an opportunity for a simple inventory of them, but rather, first of all, it constitutes an appropriate framework for their careful evaluation for the purpose of integrating them into an ever more solid documentary base of a nature capable of facilitating pertinent judgements involving the status of the inhabitants of Moldavia in the 11th to 14th centuries and, to the extent possible, their relations with the migrating peoples who crossed this much-tried territory during the first 3 centuries of the second millenium. Certainly, for Romanian historiography, as well as for all objective researchers in other countries, the presence of Romanians on the territory of Moldavia during these centuries does not constitute a problem that still needs to be resolved, just as it is no longer possible to have any doubt about the idea of the continuity of Romanian settlements to the east of the Carpathians. What has concerned our researchers - including the author of this book - is the most detailed understanding possible of the internal organization of the native people on a number of planes: economic, social, political and military.

Taking as a main point in time the great Mongol invasion of 1241-1242, Victor Spinei organizes his entire work as a function of this date so painfully felt in the history of many peoples. Until the great Mongol invasion, the Romanian population's contact and coexistence with the migrating peoples, such as the Petchenegs and the Cumanians, did not decisively affect its stability in the East-Carpathian territory and did not impede its development on all planes. A sedentary people practicing agriculture and knowing handicraft skills, the Romanians there lived in open settlements located near fertile soils, having a manner of life specific to those populations linked to agriculture. Beginning with the fact that all the archeological discoveries attest not only to the systematic cultivation of crops, but also the age of this pursuit and its permanency, the author shows the tendentious nature of the older foreign historiographic theses whereby the economy of the Romanian population during this era was characterized by the exclusive practice of pastoral pursuits.

Certainly, the age and stability of the Romanians in the territory to the east of the Carpathians, as well as their sufficiently complex economic activities, constituted conditions for the development of certain trade relations both between the Romanian communities and the the foreign populations. Although clearly dominated by the trade with the Byzantine world - a reality illustrated by a very large number of archeological discoveries having origins in that world (including monies), the East-Carpathian Romanians' relations in the 12th to 13th centuries were also sufficiently intense with the Russian states, with there being no lack of proof attesting to the existence of such relations with the Turanian peoples as well.

Without a doubt, one of the most difficult problems to resolve, and this due to the fact that neither written records nor archeological data provide sufficiently significant elements that would permit detailed formulations, remains the problem of the social organization of the East-Carpathian Romanian communities

during the course of the first quarter of the second millenium. It is certain, as the author also stresses, that this society "...had as its main organizational form the territorial council (or village council); an institution of ancient tradition in the Carpathian-Danubian region..." (p 102). Further, there are elements and criteria that are surprising and of use by way of an adequate interpretation which permits dimensioning the process of social differentiation within the framework of the same communities. This task is not at all easy since, from an archeological point of view, they still have not been able to identify significant situations in this regard. In the necropolises of the epoch, we do not see graves having contents that are differentiated so as to be able to attribute certain elements having socially different status and considered, as a result, sure proof of the above-mentioned process, just as in the villages that have been archeologically identified we have not seen significant differences between the houses that made up these villages, with these houses remaining surprising uniform from a typological and content point of view.

This situation does not, certainly, lead to the conclusion, in any case an erroneous one, that from a social point of view the East-Carpathian Romanian society of the 11th-13th centuries could be presented as an amorphous mass. Even if it were only to be mentioned the discovery of certain significant monetary treasures or objects of jewelry (Dolhesti, Hotin, Cernauti and Voinesti), it would be nonetheless sufficient to understand that such treasures belonged to certain persons or families who had separated themselves from the great mass of inhabitants of the villages, with their better material status beginning to constitute the grounds for the dominant positions which such elements later occupied within the framework of the villages.

In a close link with the problem of the social organization of the local communities to the east of the Carpathians during the 11th-13th centuries, we find the problem of the organization of military forces. One of the first findings of archeological discoveries is that both the pieces of weapons as well as the items belonging to harnesses found in the settlements and necropolises illustrate a good level of equipment in these communities, which cannot but be normal under the historical conditions created by the succession of the last waves of migrating peoples through the East-Carpathian territory.

A good student of the history of the Turanian peoples (Petchenegs, Uzians, Cumanians and so forth), Victor Spinei reserves for these migrating peoples an important part of his book, organizing his materials so that the reader will get a sufficiently complete picture of their origins, material and spiritual culture, political history and conditions under which they arrived on the territory of our country. It should be remembered, however, that for the book's author the main concern is not so much the history of these Turanian peoples, but especially the character, nature, length and consequences of the complex relations that the Romanian population had to maintain with the newcomers. The study of these relationships is not at all easy. The lack of a mention referring to them in written records, on one hand, and especially the nomadic ways of these populations, on the other hand, impedes the application of certain verified

criteria in the reseach of this problem of the relations of these same Romanians with the other migrating tribes. Prudently formulating a seires of working hypotheses and showing the adoption of sententious attitudes in establishing certain details, the author feels, however, that there are sufficient grounds to state that, despite the long periods of the Turanian peoples living in the extra-Carpathian lands, they "lived nearly the entire time separately from the Romanians. The radical differences between their economic-social systems, as well as those of an ethnic and religious nature, blocked the fusion and even closeness between the local people and the nomads, even though they occupied neighboring territories" (p 141).

If this evaluation is valid for characterizing the relations between the native Romanian communities and the Turanian communities during the time when they held superiority on a political and military level, it loses its validity for evaluating the situation that was created by the establishment of the domination of the Mongolian tribes. In this second stage, there was a veritable coexistence between the Romanians and the Turanians, a coexistence that had as a consequence the gradual assimilation, from an ethnic and cultural point of view, of the Turanians. Only the toponymy, hydronymy and anthroponymy preserved the memory of these allogeneous populations.

The especially violent invasion of the Mongol tribes in the 13th century constituted one of the most difficult trials in the history of the East European peoples. Devastating lands that stretched from the Pacific to the Atlantic and destroying civilizations that had flowered up until then and that had great prestige, the Mongolian tribes also affected the territory of our country in totality. But, if after 1242 a large part of this territory was abandoned by the Tatars and the deep wounds that had been caused by the great invasion had started to heal, with regards to Moldavia the situation remained grave. Planting itself directly and lastingly in the region between the Prut and Nistru rivers, the Mongolian domination extended over all of Moldavia. For more than 100 years, this land developed under the direct incidence of the events generated by the aggressive and dominating policy of the Golden Hoard.

Although profoundly affected both by the massive destruction that had been caused by the great Mongol invasion and by the regime established by the Tatars after the consolidation of the Golden Hoard's rule, the Romanian population in the eastern parts of Moldavia continued their existence, adapting themselves to the conditions newly created by the invaders. The native settlements, the great majority of which were open and of the rural type, as well as the necropolises that have been identified and partially researched through archeological diggings, demonstrate convincingly that the local population developed its traditional material culture without accepting so much as a perceptible influence. Even if it is difficult to establish a direct relationship between the conditions that were created by the presence of the Tatars and an increase in mortality, it nonetheless remains noted that the archeological discoveries made in numerous necropolises of this epoch attest to an extremely high mortality rate among infants and adolescents (in the necropolises at Trifesti, Doina and Hudum between 48 and 60 percent), a fact which, in any case, speaks of a worsening of the living conditions of these people.

A question that is among the most interesting and to which it is not easy to give an answer is whether, under the conditions of rule or, even, Mongolian domination, the Romanian population was able to have its own military affairs. A first response to this question is the stress on the reality that the largest part of the settlements by the native population was represented by open, unreinforced settlements, with fortified places being very few in number (Cetatea Alba, Costesti, Orheiul Vechi, Suceava, Hotin): "The unusual rarity of fortified places," notes Victor Spinei, "was certainly due for the most part to the interdiction imposed by the Mongols, who did not want to see created potential points for resistance around fortifications in the territories where they exercised their domination" (p 193).

At the same time, however, the author feels that the discovery of certain pieces of armament and military equipment, either isolated or in depots, can be invoked in support of the opinion that under the difficult conditions in which the native population found itself, it found the means to take care of its defense. Such an opinion appears to be confirmed by the circumstances that most of the discoveries of this type were made in the western region of Moldavia, that is, where the local population was not directly subject to the Mongols' supervision or their effective rule. Finally, I would add here a fact that the author could have analyzed more broadly: that precisely in these western regions of Moldavia the first local political formations were created prior to the appearance of the independent Romanian feudal state of Moldavia, which is explained by the better, more favorable conditions under which the Romanian communities there developed in relation to those in the central and eastern regions of Moldavia.

The second half of the 13th century and the first half of the next represent a period during which, in the heart of the East-Carpathian Romanian society, a series of exceptionally important phenomena occurred for the entire later development of this territory. Even under the difficult conditions created by the system of Mongolian domination, the process of feudalization - both in a vertical and horizontal sense - of Romanian society led to the consolidation of position for certain top levels of local feudalism, from whose ranks the leaders were later recruited for the Romanian political formations existing on the territory to the east of the Carpathians. Through their unification, the independent Romanian feudal state Moldavia was created. Just as the carrying out of such a process could not have taken place except under the conditions of the existence of a stable and sufficient dense population, the author gives appropriate attention to analyzing the demographic situation in Moldavia, pointing out at the same time two essential historical realities: on one hand, the uninterrupted continuity of the Romanian presence to the east of the Carpathians - a presence fundamentally unaffected by the Mongolian domination - and, on the other hand, the permanent exchanges of population between Moldavia and Transylvania, exchanges stemming from both written records and from archeological artifacts.

Under the complex political conditions existing to the north of the Lower Danube in the first half and towards the middle of the 14th century, the

carrying out of the process of creating the independent Romanian feudal state of Moldavia cannot be understood except if one keeps in mind the actions of the diverse major political factors and if one justly evaluates the temporary or longer duration relationship between the political forces of the era that were interested, in one way or another, in exercising domination (eventually even to rule over) over Moldavia: the Golden Hoard, Poland, Hungary, Lithuania. The result of the internal development of East-Carpathian Romanian society and its aspirations for its own statal political life, the feudal state of Moldavia could not appear on the political map of Eastern Europe except at that moment when, in the system of noted international political relations, certain changes took place that favored the internal forces and which allowed the affirmation of these forces, even under the conditions of adversity as declared by one or another of the surrounding great states. Having just been created and having at its head as ruler the voivode Bogdan "the Founder," the feudal state of Moldavia had to enter into a long and certain process of internal and external consolidation, especially beginning with the rule of the voivode Petru I, called the Musatin, but demonstrating itself capable even before the end of the 14th century to successfully meet the attempts of certain external forces to eliminate or subordinate it.

Viewed overall, Victor Spinei's book is a successful effort, showing through this effort the continuing confrontation between written sources and archeological ones. Through the quality of the results that have been obtained, the author presents one more argument in support of the idea that, without using archeological evidence, research into the Middle Ages cannot but lead to results of partial value and that the carrying out of exhaustive and thorough research into Romanian feudalism requires the harmonious use of all sources of information.

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INCOMPATIBILITY OF SOCIALISM, RELIGION STRESSED

Bucharest ERA SOCIALISTA in Romanian No 14, 25 Jul 83 pp 15-17

[Article by Florin Georgescu: "The Material Base of Society and the View of the World"]

[Text] It is a clear reality of our social affairs that the establishment of the socialist economic base has brought about and is bringing about the continuing creation of a new, socialist awareness. Social awareness is not, however, a simple rejoinder to material affairs, a copy of economic structures. On one hand, not everything that is part of the sphere of social awareness in socialist society is an express reflection of the socialist base. On the other hand, awareness itself with its complex structure, influences the manner of operation of the economic base and, implicitly, of the other processes that have to do with social existence.

In this regard, we are speaking about the opening of social awareness of a particular epoch towards the social-economic realities of the present, as well as towards some of the factors that influenced it in the recent past. It can be said that through their views some of the members of society reproduce on the plane of social awareness certain outdated, outmoded and irrational states. This is also the case of religious concepts, which in themselves constitute the product of certain past historical eras. For that reason, between religion on one hand, seen as a subsystem of social life which exists under new social-historical conditions, and overall socialist society on the other hand, there is a real contradiction.

Given the negative role that it plays in its relationship with society, going beyond such a contradiction appears as a necessary historical process. But, because religion lives through subjects who have religious "needs" that have been created and must be satisfied, we have the problem of the specific means by which we are to go beyond this contradiction. The one who is in the center of this crossroad in this problem is man. The task of political-educational activities is to carefully get close to the religious person and to deal with him with all the necessary tact and respect, persevering, however, so that he will decide in favor of humanist values and the materialist-scientific view of the world. Materialist-scientific and humanist-revolutionary education is designed to create new, authentically human needs, through whose fulfillment man fully finds himself. It represents, thus, the direct means through which it works (upon the subject) for the purpose of gradually going beyond religious alienation.

The complex social process of freeing man from the belief in the supernatural has an essential component in activities for the material-scientific education of the masses. Furthermore, it is a central objective of all political-ideological activities and permanently requires a unified action, one that brings together all the educational factors.

As the experience of the activities in this field shows, materialist education involves a continuing transfer of knowledge, outlooks and attitudes under the conditions of furthering man's knowledge as such, which gives the social education process characteristics that are radically opposed to routine and schematism. Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu stressed: "We must always be aware of the fact that the development of the human personality and the creation of the man of the epoch of socialism and communism cannot be reduced solely to understanding certain general decisions and theses, but rather involve necessarily the continuing broadening of the horizons of professional, political and scientific knowledge and of general culture, and the ever more thorough mastery of the treasury of human thought and experience and the spiritual values that have been created by humanity throughout history."

Educational policy, as a part of the party's general policy for the development of the new system, is founded on the understanding and application of social laws and the principles of dialectic and historical materialism and on the thorough understanding of the specific conditions in each field of activity. As a mass, social process, materialist education can be efficiently achieved under conditions where we know at the level of science such aspects as the influence of the scientific-technical revolution in modeling convictions, the current traits of religion as a social and psychological phenomenon and the role of contemporary social factors in directing human actions and social awareness.

Educational work constitutes a principal direction in this historical process but, in my opinion, not the only one. Confining the effort that involves the emancipation of man from religion only to the area of education means, for the most part, repeating the illuminist error, ignoring the truths of the materialist regarding history.

The transition from capitalism to socialism has meant a fundamental turning point, one expressed, first of all, through radical changes in the sphere of material conditions, which essentially affected the social roots of religion: the social existence which constituted the cause of the religious phenomenon gradually disappears in this historical movement. Experience has demonstrated the truth that under the conditions of socialism the social roots of religion were eliminated. The presence of the religious phenomenon in socialist society, as well as the fact that during certain moments it can experience an intensification, have raised questions in some theoretical studies regarding the value of the thesis about the disappearance of its social roots. Unfortunately, the repudiation of this thesis by some authors was followed by the acceptance of the opposite thesis: the social causes of religion - it is sometimes stated - also persist under socialism. The problem, however, cannot be resolved by speculative discussions, by formally opting for one alternative or another.

It is in itself understood that socialist social existence, given its specific nature, has never presumed the presence and operation of a religious system. We can state that the new social existence does not generate the belief in the supernatural. It exists nonetheless. And, it is (also) self-reproducing through its own mechanisms. The two fields of the overall social system (social existence, on one hand, and religious awareness on the other) cannot but enter into relationships of interinfluence. Certainly, social existence now no longer works as a determining cause of the status of religion, but it can still work upon belief as a conditioning factor. Depending upon the conditions, it has an influence, primarily a negative one, upon the development of religion and its operation in various stages. And, naturally, one asks the question whether the influence that is exercised is only negative.

The idea of "social existence" denotes a multidimensional reality that is in some regards contradictory and that has a history which can be more or less somewhat sinuous. Second, religious consciousness, one pre-existent to the new forms of material life, has the ability to give to these forms of life significance that is in accord with its dogma and not with their social essence, which is essentially new. It is possible, on the other hand, for certain facets of material life to favor, at certain moments, the belief of the supernatural and for some believers to wrongly interpret the new realities in the spirit of their beliefs, despite the fact that these have nothing to do with religious ideas.

Both of these situations (and not just the ones to which we have referred) must come to the attention of the researchers looking into the phenomenon of religion or non-religion in our society. It seems necessary to identify those facets of material life which, by virtue of their means of operation, can favor in one way or another the belief in the supernatural, as well as those aspects, which appear to be neutral from this point of view, constitute, however, an opportunity for religious interpretation. Their simple identification is not, naturally, sufficient. It must be followed by action. Through this, the efforts undertaken for the purpose of emancipating man from the belief in the supernatural goes beyond the area of concerns of an exclusively educational nature. "In general," wrote Marx, "the religious reflex in the real world cannot disappear except when the relationships in daily practical life will be clear and rational relationships between people and between people and nature."

The relationships which people establish one with another are basically relationships of production. They represent the economic structure of society. In going beyond the contradictions which are generated by the status of religion, there is, therefore, the question of the level attained by society in its advance toward that level where practical, daily relationships between people will become completely clear and rational. To the degree in which these dimensions are not completely achieved both in the level of existence and knowledge, certain aspects of the economic base can still play a role for conditions favoring religious beliefs.

We cannot here develop the entire group of problems linked to the relationship between the economic base and the religious superstructure. For that reason, we propose to pause upon only one single aspect.

Any social act or process is characterized, as is known, through the blending of objective factors with subjective ones. For that reason, in society there cannot exist phenomena which are purely spiritual or purely material. Economic relationships are establishment in existence and operate independently from the will and consciousness of the people. In this regard, they are objective, material. But, as relationships that are established between people who work as conscious beings, they themselves are not carried out in the absence of awareness and subjective factors.

By nature of their essence, socialist production relationships have nothing in common with religion. They do not require the operation of such a system, as was the case in the old systems. On the contrary, as I have pointed out, the presence of religion has dysfunctional effects upon them and, implicitly, for the entire social system. But, socialist relations are not expressed in a pure form and do not operate in the absence of the awareness of those who bring things about. And, individual awareness is not in all cases at the level of nature and the requirements of the production relationships that have been created by the new system.

The element through which the socialist base differs radically from the base of capitalist society and those societies prior to it, is ownership: the new production relationships are based upon socialist ownership. And, ownership is not something in itself, a purely material reality. It represents the specific relationship between the people (as owners) and the means of production (the objects that are owned). In their function as owners and in production relationships, the people have a specific relationship one with the other. Here, we are talking about the manner in which they express themselves as conscious beings within the framework of objective structures. The means of production are, objectively, in the possession of all of the members of society (or of certain groups that have been determined). And, do all these people behave, perhaps, in practical, daily relationships exclusively as collective owners? The answer to this question is not an unconditional affirmative.

In some cases in the manner of expressing the objective social structures, on the surface there seems to be a reproduction (and, sometimes, there is even a reproduction) of situations that are characteristic of the old interpersonal relationships. In day-to-day life, the people do not "encounter" the socialist economic base working abstractly. They encounter, rather, each other, finding, in some work places, the presence and expression by some members of society of tendencies to acquire wealth at any price, to be indifferent towards the destiny of others, to lack a feeling of human solidarity and, for some of these people, to demonstrate demagoguery, abuse, insolence, arrogance, cynicism, servilism, hypocrisy and many others. Necessarily brought together within the system of material relationships, the people will effectively experience the consequences of certain such attitudes and behaviors, knowing that in the new system as well there will be a reproduction, sometimes, of the old interpersonal relations and some alienated relations which, in the past, were the causes of the religion phenomenon.

The believers (viewed exclusively as such) carried out their lives within the framework of a new social existence, one opposite to the type of social existence specific to the prior historical stages. In consciousness, however, they live - as I have stated - in the past and they belong, by virtue of their thoughts and feelings regarding the supernatural, to a spiritual system that clings to the old societies.

The contradiction between the social existence specific to socialism and the religious awareness professed by a portion of the members of society has a negative impact both upon the overall social system and upon each individual, be he religious or not. Actually, the contradiction between the socialist system of society and religious belief, like any other contradiction, must be resolved in a specific manner in accordance with its nature. Beginning with the principle of the freedom of conscience, the state views religion as a private problem. In this manner, it appears as an effective representative of all of the members of the socialist community - in other words, of society overall, protecting their civil rights equally, without any discrimination. No group or community - whether we are speaking of atheists, free thinkers or religious persons - is privileged. The contradiction between the concept that stands at the basis of the policy of the socialist state - an atheistic concept - and religious consciousness is thus resolved in a principled manner, without dysfunctions in the relationship with religious subjects. Through the laws that have been drawn up in accordance with the principle of freedom of conscience, the state ensures the operation of specific activities within the framework of religious institutions that have been recognized in the distant or more recent past and which have requested the status of a religious institution.

As a representative forum which expresses the wishes of all the people and which, therefore, at the same time defends the interests of the other workers and those persons who are not part of any religious group, the socialist state watches so that the profession of beliefs by one religious group or another is not done to the harm of non-believers, those who are knowingly participating in the building of a new life. The believer himself must not extend those problems that directly concern him and the ideas and practices to which he adheres as a private person to his neighbors, affecting their situation one way or another. Just as the state and society respect the civil rights of the believers, and through this his convictions as well, they, for their part, must respect others regardless of their beliefs and not hamper - through a possibly discriminatory attitude that stems from the nature of religion - the freedom of conscience of those who have opted for atheistic convictions.

In the above, we have tried to point out that essential contradictory differences between religion and the socialist system of society do not affect the situation of the subjects. The regulation of interpersonal relationships in accordance with the principle of the freedom of conscience has the individual, man himself in mind. Such a regulation does not, however, also mean the resolution per se of the contradiction. In its relationship with socialist society, religion operates dysfunctionally, even if for the believers, taken as such, it has a certain functionality since it satisfies their religious needs.

From the analysis that has been done, we can find the expression of two opposite trends: the institutional-political superstructure provides the necessary legal framework for satisfying the religious needs of the faithful while the religious superstructure, by creating such needs, frequently causes negative effects in relation to the progressive development of society. Precisely for that reason and parallel with the attention given to religious subjects as citizens of the country and to their needs, the party and socialist state at the same time have in mind the needs of all of society.

The elimination of dysfunctional effects of this nature cannot, however, take place over night. Any excess in this regard frequently leads to results opposite to those wanted. The emancipation of man from religious alienation cannot be the exclusive result of a certain social activity or a certain subsystem of social affairs. It is the work of society overall. For that reason, the improvement of direct relationships between people in all the areas of social affairs - and with priority for those that are carried out within the framework of the economic base - so that they will operate permanently and consistently in accordance with the principles of socialist equity represents the guarantee that, sooner or later, individual awareness will no longer have a reason to resort to the supernatural with the hope that it will resolve, on the level of belief, his problems stemming from specific social relations and material affairs in society.

Working in full agreement with such objective requirements, our party expresses a permanent and active concern for the development of the material base of society and for the improvement of socialist social and production relations and the affirmation of the principles of socialist ethics and equity in all social affairs.

As is known, by doing away with private ownership, which objectively generates antagonistic opposition within society, in socialist society the workers have the opportunity to work in a solidified manner in production and social relations, thus eliminating one of the main objective causes of religious alienation. All the development of contemporary society - noted comrade Nicolae Ceausescu in this regard at the December 1982 National RCP Conference - strongly confirms that "socialist organization constitutes the only path for eliminating inequality, oppression of one people by another and exploitation and suppression of the popular masses, and for achieving a more human, more just and better society that will provide all the citizens with equal working and living conditions and that will permit the full affirmation of the human personality."

In reviewing the transformations that have occurred in the material base of our society in the last five year plans, the National RCP Conference once again stressed, as is known, the fact that in economic development we have advanced along a broad front, covering in a relatively short period of time great historical distances, which has made possible the movement to the stage of creating a multilaterally developed socialist society. The decisions of the 12th Congress and the National Conference have in mind the objective of con-

solidating these economic-social achievements and providing, along this path, a new balance and a harmonious development of all the sectors of activity.

In the process of the continuing development of our socialist society, the objective causes of an economic-social nature are thus eliminated successively. These causes brought about the appearance of the phenomenon of religious alienation. Parallel with the improvement of the material conditions for existence, at the same time it is necessary, however, to carry out a sustained, militant educational activity for the elimination from the spiritual life of the people of any mystical concepts and for the affirmation of the humanist values of our society and their concrete promotion through an active participation in economic-social affairs.

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